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I.—*On the Government and History of Naning in the Malay Peninsula.*  
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*Native Government of Naning.*—The Government of Naning, setting aside its connexion with the European powers at Malacca, which interfered very little in its internal organization, was at once feudal and pastoral in its character. The classification of the people into tribes was nearly as well defined as that of the children of Israel, described by Moses in the Pentateuch.

*Panghúlú.*—The office of *Panghúlú* has been hereditary, subject to the approbation of the Government at Malacca, agreeably, generally, to the Menángxábowe law of succession of the *Anak Perpáti Sabátang*, or the *Tromba Pusáka Menángxábowe*. The right of succession devolving upon the eldest male child of the sister; who however may be set aside in case of imbecility or other causes. This singular law of succession prevails throughout Naning.

The last *Panghúlú* of Naning were of the tribe *Se Melongan*. They were generally brought down by the four heads of tribes, or *Ampat Súkú*, to Malacca, to be confirmed by the European Government.

JUÁRA' MAGAB, the first *Panghúlú* of the last line, arrogated to himself the power of inflicting capital punishment on the inhabitants confided to his charge. It was exercised and abused by his successors until 1809, when it was rescinded by the British Resident, Colonel FARQUHAR; a gentleman whose name is held in affectionate remembrance by most of the Malays, both of Malacca and the neighbouring independent states.

The last death sentence passed by ABDUL SAYAD (or DHOL SAYAD), the ex-*Panghúlú*, was on a Queda man, named SALI, in 1805. This Malay had carried off from Malacca two Chinese slaves, a man and

woman; meeting some resistance from the former, he had murdered him, with his *kris*, in the forest of Londoo, and proceeded with the woman to Píla, in Sríminánti, where he sold her.

The present superintendent of Naning, Mr. WESTERHOUT, who was an eye-witness, described to me the ceremony of his trial and execution. The criminal was conducted bound to *Buket Peniálang*, or "execution hill," near Tabú. The *Panghúlú*, the *Ampat Súkú*, the 12 *Panglímás*, the *Bandhára*, and the *Makdúm* were all seated in judgment under a cluster of Tambuseh trees, on the skirt of the hill. The witnesses were brought forward and examined by the *Panghúlú* himself. The evidence against the prisoner being deemed conclusive, according to the forms of the Muhammedan law, he was sentenced, agreeably to the *Adat Menáangkábowe*, to pay one *Bhár* (equivalent to 24 Spanish dollars, and 30 cents), or to suffer (*Salang*) death by the *kris*. Being unable to pay the fine, preparations were made for his immediate execution. The grave was dug on the spot, and he was placed firmly bound in a sitting posture, literally on its brink. For further security, two *Panglímás* sat on each side, whilst the *Panglíma Besár* SUMUN unsheathed the weapon that was to terminate the trembling wretch's existence. On the point of the poniard, the *kris panjang*, the *Panglímá* carefully placed a pledget of soft cotton, which he pressed against the man's breast, a little above the right collar bone. He then slowly passed the weapon's point through the cotton, on which he kept the fingers of his left hand, firmly pressed in a direction obliquely to the left, into his body, until the projection of the hilt stopped its farther progress. The weapon was then slowly withdrawn, the *Panglímá* still retaining the cotton in its place by the pressure of his fingers, by which the effusion of blood externally was effectually stanchéd.

The criminal, convulsively shuddering, was instantly precipitated into the grave; but on his making signs for water, was raised. He had barely time to apply his lips to the cocoanut shell, in which it was brought, when he fell back into the grave quite dead. The earth was then hastily thrown over the body, and the assembly dispersed.

*The Ampat Súkú*.—Next to the *Panghúlú*, were the four heads or representatives of the four *Súkús*, or tribes, into which the population of Naning was divided.

In the ex-*Panghúlú's* time, the head of the

*Súkú Sa Melongan*, was Mahárájá NUNKAIO.

„ *Anak Malacca*, „ ANDIKA' Mahárájá.

„ *Tigá Battá*, „ DATTU AMBANGAN.

„ *Munkáh*, „ ORANG KAIO KI'HIL.



There are three other *Súkú*s or tribes in Naning, viz. those of *Battá Balong*, *Tigá Neyney*, and *Bodoandá*. The number of individuals composing these tribes being so insignificant, they were included in the four general divisions.

The office of the head of the *Súkú* was not exactly hereditary. In the event of a casualty, the place was generally filled up by the remaining three from the most eligible of the deceased's family. Their office was to assist the *Panghúlú* with their counsel and advice; if unanimous, they could carry their point against him.

They were always consulted in any matter of importance, and affixed their seals to all deeds and agreements. Letters to the Government at Malacca, and to the heads of independent states were invariably written in the name of the *Panghúlú* and *Ampat Súkú*. Each was individually responsible for his tribe to the *Panghúlú*, in matters of revenue, levying men and settling disputes.

Their revenue was derived principally from the power they enjoyed of levying fines on their own particular tribe, and from a portion allotted to them by the *Panghúlú* from his annual levy on each house of five gantams of paddy.

*Mantrís*.—The *Mantrís* were a species of privy councillors to the *Panghúlú*s, two in number. The last were MELA'NA' HAKÍM and GOMPA'R. They fled with the *Panghúlú* to Míko in Rumbowe, but have since returned.

*Panglímás* or *Hulubalangs*.—The *Panglímás* are the war chiefs. The ex-*Panghúlú* had 12; viz. *Panglímás Besár*, *Jatí*, *Arrip*, *Beibas*, *Sultán*, *Tambi*, *Prang*, *Troh*, 2 *Bangsahs*, *Kiodin*, and *Rájá Balang*. Four of these were personally attached to the *Panghúlú*; viz. *Panglímás Besár*, *Prang*, *Jatí*, and *Arrip*: the rest to the *Ampat Súkú*.

Besides the levying of men in war, and leading them to combat, building stockades, &c. the duty of a *Panglímá* is in peace, the apprehension of criminals, bearing official messages and letters, and making requisitions.

On these occasions, the *Panghúlú*'s spear *Tombok Bandaran* was sent with them, in token of their authority.

This custom prevails generally among Malayan chiefs.

The above form of government was entirely abolished on the settling of the country after the disturbances in 1832, as will appear hereafter.

*History*.—Naning was taken possession of, together with the Malacca lands, by the Portuguese, shortly after the capture of Malacca by ALPHONSO ALBUQUERQUE, in 1511. Previous to this, it had formed an

integral part of the dominions of MUHAMMED SHÁH II., Sultán of Malacca; who, on the fall of his capital, fled to Muar, thence to Pahang, and finally to Johore, where he established a kingdom. Naning remained nominally under the Portuguese, till 1641-2, when with Malacca it fell into the hands of the Dutch, and their allies the sovereigns of Johore and Achin. According to a Malay manuscript in my possession, "the Hollanders made many bonds with the king of Johore, on golden paper, including numerous divisions of shares and territory," among which are specified the interior boundaries of Malacca, viz. "From the mouth of the Cassang to its source southerly; from the mouth of the Lingí river to Ramoan China northerly to Buket Bruang, Bakowe Rendah, Ramonia Chondong, Padang Chachar, Dason Mariah, Dason Kappar Ulú Malacca to the source of the Cassang river. Done, written, and sealed by the Hollanders and king of Johore, on paper of gold."

VALENTYN, however, asserts, that the 1st article of the treaty between the Dutch and the king of Johore was, that the town be given up to the Dutch, and the land to the king of Johore, reserving, however, to the Dutch so much territory about the town as is required, and license to cut fire-wood. Be this as it may, Dutch policy soon extended the meaning of this into the possession of an area of nearly 50 miles by 30, which comprised the whole of Naning up to the frontiers of Rumbowe and Johore.

This line of latter days has been extended beyond Buket Bruang and Ramoan China, to the left bank of the Lingí river, which it now comprehends.

*History of Naning.*—The Dutch, on their taking possession of Malacca in 1641, found Naning under the government of the *Ampat Súkú*, or heads of the four tribes, into which the inhabitants are divided. In the Dutch Governor General ANTHONIJ VAN DIEMEN's administration, an agreement was made by the first Land-voogd, or Governor of Malacca, JOHAN VAN TWIST, on the 15th of August, 1641, with the chiefs of Naning and the neighbouring villages: by which the latter promised fidelity to the States General and the Company, and abjured their former engagements with the Spaniards and Portuguese. The property of all persons dying without issue to be divided between the Company and the native chiefs; that of persons guilty of murder, to be appropriated half for the use of the Company, and the remainder for their heirs. The company to be entitled to one-tenth of the produce, and to a duty of 10 per cent. on the sale of estates. Such taxes to be collected by native servants, who will be rewarded by Governor General A. VAN DIEMEN.

In the old Dutch records, preserved in the archives of Malacca, we find, in 1643, the inhabitants of Naning and Rumbowe, particularly those of the districts of Mullikey, Perling, and Inac, noticed as being in a very rebellious and disorderly state, refusing to obey their chief Rájá MERAH, the first Panghúlú of Naning, on account of the banishment by the Dutch of one of their chiefs, named MENI TUAN LELAH REAWAN, from the territory of Malacca : and complaining that the administration of justice was not according to their customs.

In 1644, the Dutch Government resolved to depute commissioners to Naning, in order to restore tranquillity, to take a survey of Naning and its districts, to apportion lands to the inhabitants, (who, it is worthy of note, are always styled "*Manikábowes*," or settlers from Menangkábowe in Sumatra,) to infuse into their minds the advantages resulting from habits of industry, to turn their attention to agricultural pursuits, to persuade them to "depart from the state of barbarism under which they then laboured," and finally, to furnish Rájá MERAH, the chiefs and inhabitants there, with instructions how they were to conduct themselves towards the Government of Malacca in respect to the administration of justice in civil cases, and above all, to take cognizance of every criminal case that occurred there.

To fulfil the objects of this mission, Government selected senior merchant SNOUEQ. But citizen SNOUEQ, the minute drily observes, "brings in various excuses, saying he is unwell, and that the road to Naning is impassable, that his legs are bad, and that he is not proficient in the Malay language."

Shortly after this, SNOUEQ still persisting in his objections, an expedition is ordered to proceed to Naning, under Captain S. ALEXANDER MENDOS and ANTONIO GONIO LOUIS PINJERO, consisting of 50 Netherlands, and 60 Malacca soldiers, with 20 peons, to convey provisions and baggage, and a number of boats and boatmen—in all 180 men.

The following is the official account of the mission written by the Governor JEREMIAS VAN VLIET, who, it appears, proceeded himself to Naning in the room of SNOUEQ.

"On the third day, about three hours before the sun went down, we arrived with the whole retinue at Pankallang Naning, as far as is navigable, with a boat. Here we rested during the night, and found Rájá MERAH, with some of the principal chiefs of Naning, who shewed us every mark of respect and obedience.

"Early on the morning of the fourth, we marched forward with the whole retinue, through forests, to Melecque (Mullikey). We reached this place at 10 o'clock, with the principal part of the troops, and

awaited the arrival of our baggage. After taking some refreshments, we proceeded on our journey to Naning, and arrived at this place two hours before the rising of the sun. Rájá MERAH, with some of the principal chiefs of Naning, and a great concourse of people, came to receive us and pay their homage. They conducted us to Naning, and had a band of musicians marching before us.

"The inhabitants of Naning and the other districts under our subjection came to us to pay their homage. Thus every thing promised a favorable result to the object of our mission. The chiefs and inhabitants of Naning had constructed a sumptuous bungalow for our reception, and shewed us every attention and respect.

"We received their compliments with every token of good will, and so we past the day.

"In Naning we desired Rájá MERAH and the chiefs to be called; and pointed out to them the atrocities which had been committed by them and the inhabitants during the past year, viz. that murder and robbery were common practices with them, arising from no other cause than a state of ignorance and idleness. It is therefore advisable, that they should devote their time to agricultural pursuits, such as planting a more considerable quantity of pepper or paddy. Were they to lead an industrious life, it would prove much to their benefit; malignity would then, no doubt, be entirely eradicated."

The following points were laid before them :

1st. "That INCHI WODDAT, one of the chiefs and head-men at Melicque (Mullikey), having proved himself unworthy of that situation, and on whom no confidence could be placed, it is required that they should select three qualified persons at Melicque, out of which number, one would be chosen to fill the vacant seat."

2nd. "That they should keep the river, from Pankallang Naning to Pankallang Nauwar, clear, and make it navigable for prows."

3rd. "That one-tenth of the produce of the Naning rice-fields should be paid annually, either in kind or money."

4th. "That Rájá MERAH, with the chiefs, should come down personally, or depute persons to pay their homage." (The records here are almost obliterated.)

5th. "That Rájá MERAH shall invite, by beat of gong, all the inhabitants in the districts under subjection, in order to ascertain if they have any complaints to bring forward against Rájá MERAH, or the other chiefs; and if they have no reason of complaint, notice should be taken of their disobedience."

6th. "That we should furnish Rájá MERAH and the chiefs with instructions, and point out to them the line of conduct which they



should invariably pursue, and how far their authority extends in the administration of civil cases."

"These points having been translated into the Malay language, we had it proclaimed, and made known to all people, through the medium of Rájá MERAH, who informed us, that the inhabitants accepted these rules with due deference, but made some difficulty in complying with the contents of that paragraph which enjoins them to keep the river clear, for they consider themselves as his (Rájá MERAH's) subjects, not his slaves. Rájá MERAH further states, that the limited authority with which he is invested is not calculated to command obedience. But it is our wish, that Rájá MERAH confer with the chiefs and inhabitants on the matter, and inform them that what we had resolved is principally to promote their interest. The clearing away on the banks of the river is a service which could be performed by four persons, and in a short space of time. The banks of the river should be cleared, widened, and made navigable from Naning to the town; but they are required to keep the river clear only as far as Pankallang Nauwar, from thence it will be the business of our inhabitants to preserve the cleanliness of the river. They ought to recollect, that this improvement would, in a great measure, promote the prosperity of Naning; and how convenient it would be felt by every body in the transport of paddy, *sirih*, and other produce. Perceiving their objection, we desired, that the inhabitants should be summoned by beat of gong, in order that they might consider this object more attentively. Rájá MERAH and chiefs did accordingly hold a consultation with the inhabitants. We directed ALEXANDER MENDOS to be present at this meeting, and to inform himself of every circumstance which might occur, and instructed him how he should conduct himself towards these obstinate people.

"ALEXANDER MENDOS having appeared in the meeting, and hearing some of the *Manikábowes* making difficulties to obey the order regarding the clearing of the river, alleging that their houses were too far situated from the river, replied, that they should not murmur at such a trivial labour, considering that the Governor himself had left the town, and come up here for the purpose of punishing the wicked and disobedient, and protecting the innocent and faithful, it would therefore be very imprudent to resist his wishes. MENDOS and Rájá MERAH, impressed these salutary precepts on the minds of the inhabitants of the villages under subjection, who with one consent and loud voice exclaimed, "the will of the Governor of Malacca be done," and promised to be obedient to all his orders. In this manner did Rájá MERAH, the chiefs, and inhabitants declare their willingness to accede to the rules which we had prescribed to them.

" We directed all the men in the districts under subjection to approach our dwelling, and demanded to know if they were satisfied with Rájá MERAH and the other chiefs, and would submit to their orders. If any person should be injured, and could procure no redress from them," (here again the record is undecipherable.)

" We addressed the people in such a manner that they unanimously declared, that they had nothing to bring forward against Rájá MERAH, and consented to place themselves under his control. We have in consequence read in the Dutch, Portuguese, and Malay languages, in the presence of the inhabitants of the districts under subjection, viz. Naning, Melicque, Inak, and Perling, the commission appointing Rájá MERAH as our subordinate chief over the above-mentioned districts ; and the tenor of the commission is noted down in the accompanying copy.

" Rájá MERAH had selected three persons from each of the districts Melicque and Perling ; out of which one will be chosen, in order to increase the number of the members of the council in Naning, and each of them should be a head man over a village.

" Whilst Rájá MERAH, the chiefs, and the inhabitants were holding a council, we took a survey of the lands and paddy-fields in Naning, and proceeded nearly so far as the forests of Rumbowe. It is indeed a fine and fertile land, bounded on both sides by forests. It is to be desired, that Malacca could possess such advantages. In the districts of Naning there is much waste and uncultivated land, which is well adapted for planting pepper. If we could put our plan into execution, it is certain that the Company will derive great profit in time.

" After the trial of many delinquents, there was one man, named U'ANG CAYA PER MATTU MERAH, who was once one of the chiefs at Naning ; who, having evinced symptoms of disaffection, proceeded to Rumbowe, where he had spent his days in cock-fighting and gaming. This man was ordered to be apprehended and fined in our council, with the concurrence of Rájá MERAH, in a sum of 50 crusadoes.

" The enormous crime committed by CONTELLA LASCARRA, late head man at Perling, for which he had been imprisoned here for a length of time, was also investigated in the presence of the said chiefs. He was condemned to pay a fine of 100 crusadoes. In failure of this, he shall be scourged and banished the territory of Malacca.

" The instructions, which we intended to furnish Rájá MERAH with, being ready, we intimated the tenor of the same to him and the other chiefs, and they appeared to be perfectly satisfied with them, which gives us every reason to hope, that they would promote the happiness and comfort of the people, and increase the confluence of the *Manikáhowes*, when the villagers of other places shall hear Naning

is become a well-regulated Government, and the character of the inhabitants peaceable and industrious, and that vice is severely punished.

“ Every thing at Naning has turned out to our wishes. Rájá MERAH and the chiefs were very submissive, and the inhabitants very obedient to our orders.”

Governor VAN VLIET had not long to felicitate himself on the submissiveness and obedience of the inhabitants of Naning ; for shortly after his return to Malacca, an extensive conspiracy was formed, in which they assumed a prominent part against the Dutch Government, in the denouement of which, two Dutch officers lost their lives at the hands of the natives. The following paragraph from the records gives us an insight into the method employed by the Dutch of this period, in “ *persuading* the refractory Manikábowes to return from the state of barbarism under which they had the misfortune to labour.”

Well might Lord MINTO, the conqueror of Java, commit to the flames with indignant hands, those instruments of torture, so long a disgrace to a city over whose ancient ruins the British flag waved\*.

This document is dated “ Malacca, 16th August, 1644.”

“ What an abominable treason and conspiracy have we not discovered in Naning in the conduct of five Malays, named INCHI ITAM, BONGSOE, SILLAP, POETARA, and a slave of the name of PATCHUIM, who had been compelled by his master to join the conspirators against Malacca. We have often trusted ITAM with letters to the chiefs at Naning and Rumbowe, but he has performed our commands in a very unfaithful manner, by laying secret schemes with the said chiefs against us, and three different times he swore fealty in favor of them, against our Government, that he would not discover and make known to us any plan which our enemy might project against our interest, and if we should purpose to despatch a force thither, he would give timely notice to them of our design. Moreover, he had undertaken to lead 1,000 *Manikábowes* to Malacca, in order to attack and destroy the settlement. All this he did, and dissembled with us. INCHI, SILLAP, BONGSOE, and POETARA were for a considerable length of time our inhabitants, and were together with the troops where Captains FORSENBERG and MENIE were murdered ; since which time, they have taken up arms against our Government, and threatened to murder us in our council

\* His Lordship, after the taking of Java, presented Malacca with a full length portrait of himself, in which the burning of the instruments of torture is represented. The picture was formerly suspended in the Stadt-house, but now adorns the court-house of Malacca.

chamber, and to run a muck against any one who would oppose them. They did also pledge that they would set the town on fire, and retire to the country with their wives and children. We were long of intention to punish these traitors, but have with the advice of our council deferred the execution thereof until the return of our commissioner SNOUEQ from Johore. But the following is now resolved :

“ That INCHI ITAM be *tortured* to death, and his body be exposed on a gibbet.”

“ That SILLAP and BONGSOE be decapitated, and their bodies be divided into four parts, and exposed in several conspicuous places.”

“ That POETARA be beheaded, his head placed upon a gibbet, his body separated, and exposed in several conspicuous places. He has confessed to be guilty of horrid crimes.”

“ That PATCHIUM the slave, be acquitted, and set at large, as it is proved that he has not taken up arms against us, and has been constrained by his master to join the said conspirators. Moreover, he was the medium of discovering the conspiracy.”

“ God preserve Malacca and all states and fortresses from such evil-designing people.”

“ The villages of Naning and Rumbowe continue in a rebellious state, the blockade of the river Panagy, (the Rumbowe and Naning branch of the Liugí river,) by us is still carried on. Some days past, two Rumbowe people have been seized by our inhabitants in the river Muar. We had them executed; their heads were placed on stakes, and their bodies on gibbets.”

“ God grant that we may apprehend some more of these traitors, they shall all be dealt with in this way.”

“ By the disasters which had taken place at Naning, the continuance of the rebellion excited by the insolent *Manikábowes*, and the diffidence subsisting between this republic and the states of Johore, the minor trade of this place has of late been decreasing, the supply of all necessities prevented, and the plantations along the river-side deserted and abandoned; for fear of the *Manikábowes*, nobody would venture to cultivate their gardens in those places. The revenue of the settlement has in consequence diminished, and the inhabitants very much disheartened. Even the people in the surrounding states are not exempt from fear on this account. We shall find it therefore expedient to conclude a permanent peace with the states of Johore, by which means, it will be in our power to punish the Naning and Rumbowe people. We shall endeavour to treat all the subjects of the chief of Johore in a friendly manner, and permit them to visit our settlement without molestation.”



The Dutch for a considerable period afterwards experienced much annoyance from the daring aggressions of these hardy natives, who advanced in hordes within a musket shot of the fort, and up to the very borders of the entrenchments, plundering and laying waste to the gardens and houses in the vicinity, and destroying the plantations at Bukit China. Government, at last, though not without considerable expence and bloodshed, succeeded in restoring tranquillity.

In 1651, the *Panghulú* Sri Rájá MERAH was publicly thanked for his services in the apprehension of a runaway slave from Malacca, guilty of murder. In 1652, he, with his three sons and two of the principal chiefs of Naning, came down to Malacca, and presented to Government a quantity of pepper as "an ordinary tribute." On this occasion, he was honored in return by the gift of a Malay *sarasa*, one piece of red cloth, one of white cloth, and a piece of white bafta.

Inferior presents were likewise bestowed upon his three sons and the two chiefs.

In November, 1652, we find the following minute, which goes to disprove the power of inflicting capital punishment, without reference to the Malacca Government, which of later years the *ex-Panghulú* DHOL SAYAD arrogated to himself.

"Pursuant to our order of the 30th October last, a letter was written in reply by Mr. EMANUEL DU MOULYN to the chiefs of Naning, conveying our sentiments and surprise at the atrocities which had been of late perpetrated at Naning, and the summary manner with which the offender was put to death by the commands of the chiefs in the case of Rajah MERAH's son-in-law, who attempted to destroy his wife and father-in-law. This we must confess is a horrid deed, but at all events, the offender should have been delivered into our hands, and a regular course of trial in our court be instituted against him. But when we take into consideration the sincere contrition expressed at what they have done, we could not but impute it to their ignorance, and it is therefore proper that we should not notice it this time with that severity and censure, which under any other circumstances it would be our bounden duty as lord paramount to exercise."

"We observe that there is another individual of the name of INCHI JUMAT, who has shewn many instances of insubordination, and is fully proved to have run a muck, and attempted the life of his chief at Naning. We have resolved in council, at the suggestion of the chiefs and inhabitants of Naning, and places subordinate thereto, that the said INCHI JUMAT be put to death, and sincerely trust, that after the

extinction of such a dangerous character as the said JUMAT, the district of Naning will revert to its former tranquillity and happiness."

The subjoined document, dated 27th May, 1664, bears upon the collection of the duty on the produce of Naning.

"The captain of Naning and the chiefs preferred in council a complaint against MARIA SILVENS, collector of the customs on *Sirih* brought from Naning, that he has not attended to the usual mode of levying the duty on this article."

"The measure which it seems he has adopted is this—after receiving the duty, he would detain the people about five days, until the quantity collected by him has been disposed of, by which means, the *Sirih* remaining on their hands, became unfit for consumption, and consequently not saleable. Through his negligence, the *Bongsal*, (revenue store-house) in which this article is deposited, and wherein the Naning people are compelled to take shelter at night, had become very dilapidated; nor has he troubled himself in the least to put the building in a proper repair for the accommodation of these persons, who were under the necessity of violating the prescribed rules, by taking up their lodgings in different parts of the town, which expedient has been attended with much inconvenience and disagreement amongst the Naning people."

"With a view to preserve good order and tranquillity, another individual shall be appointed in the room of MARIA SILVENS, who it would appear is also desirous to tender his resignation. We have therefore deemed it advisable, at the suggestion of Rájá MERAH, and the chiefs of Naning, to nominate ANTHONY PINJERO and MANUEL FRERE, as collectors of the duty on *Sirih* brought from Naning. The president of our council having observed, that MANUEL FRERE is more conversant in Malay language, and customs of those people, than the first mentioned individual, has considered it expedient to propose him for the performance of this duty, in which motion we unanimously concurred, and have consequently nominated the said MANUEL FRERE provisionally, to execute the functions of a collector of the aforesaid duty, and superintendent of the *Bongsal*, until our further orders."

"Early in 1680, the agreement made in 1641, by VAN TWIST, was renewed, during Governor General RIJHLOF VAN GOEN's administration by the then Land-voogd of Malacca, JACOB JARISSOON PITS, 'with the ambassadors of Naning and Rumbowe, on behalf of the king of Johore,' with these additions, viz. 'that a duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem* be paid to the Company on the sales of the pepper.' The Company promise to give an adequate subsistence to the chief at Naning, besides one-tenth of the collected revenue."

“Each boat coming down from Naning will pay a duty of one crusadoe to the Company.” It appears by this treaty that the custom of dividing the property of the natives of Naning, dying without heirs, was introduced by the Portuguese prior to the capture of Malacca by the Dutch; we also find that all slaves flying from Naning to Malacca with intent of embracing the Christian faith will be emancipated, and the value of the same will be paid to their ancestors.

The Naning people likewise bound themselves not to trade with foreign nations, but to convey their merchandize down the river to Malacca.

In 1703, the Malacca Government appointed Sri Maharájá JUARA MAGAT, as Panghúlú of Naning, for a service done to the king of Johore, which will be shortly mentioned, and in consequence of the incapacity and infirmities of the then Panghúlú Sri Rájá MERAH, who had forwarded to Government the Company's signet, which he had been permitted to use as a token of his delegated authority.

The following are the instructions received by the commissioners deputed for the installation of the new chief at Naning. They present a curious specimen of the native policy of the Dutch.

“Malacca, 5th May, 1703.

“Instructions given by BERNARD PHOONSEN, Governor and Director of the town and fortress of Malacca in Council, to PETER ANTHONY FIGAREDO, burgher, and INCHI AROOM, head man of the Malays at this place, for their guidance in respect to the installation of the newly nominated chief at Naning Sri Rájá MERAH, and the conduct which they should pursue during their stay at that place.”

1st. “On your arrival at Naning, you shall wait upon the Orang Káyá Sri Rájá MERAH, in our name, and present him the accompanying letter, and congratulate him on his retiring from office, which we have granted him at his own request, and in consideration of his advanced age; and inform him, that his brother has been nominated to fill the vacant office, for which he has received the arms of the East India Company as a mark of his authority.”

2nd. “You shall require the chiefs at Naning to pay all due respects and submission to the authority who holds the said seals, and with regard to the navigation of the river by boats, they shall invariably conduct themselves as we have desired.”

3rd. “Two days after your arrival, you shall nominate and appoint the new chief in the name of the East India Company, and command all persons to pay every respect, and shew due submission to him; in failure thereof, they shall be liable to punishment.”

4th. “You shall diligently inquire into the case of SEATHUM and his followers, in order that we might be thoroughly informed whether

he has been justly or unjustly accused, as we have heard repeated complaints against the present reigning chief; but you must not omit to caution SEATHUM, as well as his followers, to attend to all orders and requisitions enforced by the East India Company."

5th. "That the sentence, which shall be pronounced by them against an offender, must, in the first instance, be approved of, and confirmed by us, before it can be put into execution. Such sentences are also liable to be cancelled and altered by us, and our will must be punctually attended to."

6th. "They shall apprehend and send to town all evil disposed persons and offenders, who may from time to time take shelter in the districts of Naning. If resistance should be made on the part of these persons, they shall use violence in seizing them, for we would rather see them *put to death* than that one should escape with impunity."

7th. "No individual from town, or plantations on the river side, shall be permitted to proceed to Naning without previous intimation being given to the Shahbandar, or Malay translator, who will issue on application a written permission to that effect; and we direct that all persons, not furnished with such license, be ordered to quit Naning, and return to the place from whence they came."

8th. "The inhabitants of Naning shall be permitted to export and bring to market in town all sorts of minerals, timbers, fruits, &c., except *Sirih* leaves. Our reason for forbidding the importation of this article has been several times conveyed to them. In return they shall be permitted to take to Naning from hence all sorts of provisions and necessaries."

The following account of the circumstances attending JUARA MAGAT's elevation is related on native authority.

Sultan ABDUL JALIL SHAH III., king of Johore, wrote a letter to the chief of the Malays at Malacca, then *Capitan Malayu*, DATTU ARU'M, stating, that one of his subjects, GANTA DELANGIT, had carried off one of the royal concubines to Malacca; and desiring him most earnestly to render assistance in wiping off this stain on his honor. The *Capitan* on the receipt of this epistle summoned JUARA MAGAT from Naning, and ordered him to seek out DELANGIT, to put him to death, and to bring down the concubine of the Sultán to Malacca.

To this, it is said, JUARA readily assented, but requested a *kris* from the *Capitan* for the purpose, who gave him the choice of the whole of his weapons, and on JUARA's not finding one "lucky" enough, desired him to go to the armourer's shop in town, and make his own selection. JUARA turned into a Chinese shop, near the Trangureira gate, where after rejecting all the inlaid and beautifully damasked



weapons offered him by the armourer, selected an old rusty looking *kris*, blackened by the smoke and resin of the dammer torches, to the trimming of which it had been constantly applied. He then returned to the *Capitan*, and informed his astonished employer that the rejected weapon he held in his hand, was the *kris* destined to pour out the blood of DELANGIT as a sacrifice to the insulted honor of the Sultán.

With this wonderful weapon (fit companion for the enchanted sword of king ARTHUR), JUARA returned to Naning. But DELANGIT, hearing of his purpose, had already fled thence into Muar, and concealed himself with the concubine amid the fastnesses of that wild country. Thither the persevering JUARA tracked his victim, and coming up with him at the mouth of the river, plunged the fatal steel deep into his heart.

The concubine he conveyed in safety to Malacca, whence she was sent, with an account of what had occurred, by the *Capitan*, to the Sultán of JOHORE. The Sultán recommended JUARA to the Dutch government, who made him *Panghúlú* of Naning; and bestowed on him as mark of royal favor, two slaves, a man and woman; (from whom the *Súkú* or tribe at present known by the appellation of *Tigá Nenek* sprang;) a sword, termed *Ulár-kenyáng*, “the satiated serpent,” a silk *bájú* or vest, and lastly, a tract of the Gominchi territory, hence called *Pembáshú Tungan*. To the *Capitan Malayu* was given a piece of land extending from Kleybang to the Sungí Baru river, and inland to Bertam. The title Sri Rájá MERAH, the sword, *Baju*, and a genealogical book, generally preserved in the families of Malayan princes and noblemen, called *Silselah*, have descended to JUARA’s successors as a *Kabesáran*, or regalia.

JUARA MAGAT was succeeded, agreeably to the *Menángkábowe* law of succession, by his sister’s son, KUKAH; to KUKAH succeeded EANGARANG or MULANA GARANG, JANGOT, TAMBAH, and ANJAK or BUKIT JOOTOR. The present ex-*Panghúlú* ABDUL SAYAD or DHOL SAYAD, succeeded his uncle ANJAK, in 1801, when he was confirmed in his office by the British Resident at Malacca, colonel TAYLOR.

When ABDUL SAYAD had control in Naning, the *Kabesáran* of his ancestors was kept in a house-shaped chest, and was only publicly produced once a year. Its contents were perfumed with the smoke arising from a censer of odoriferous gums, and washed with water and rice-flour, by the sacred hands of the *Panghúlú* himself. On their being exhibited, the superstitious natives, not even daring to look at these miraculous relics, fell prostrate with their foreheads pressed to the earth, exclaiming, *Dowlet, dowlet!*

The properties ascribed to the sword are those generally known by Malays under the term *Betuah*, which, among other meanings, has that

of any thing imparting invulnerability and irresistability to the wearer. Secret enemies are detected, by their involuntarily trembling in the august presence of the weapon. The silk *bájú*, it is believed, will fit none but the *Panghúlú* or the person destined to become his successor. And to this day, it is firmly credited by many of the Malays, that the elder brother of ABDUL SAYAD was rejected from the Panghúlúship solely on account of his inability to get his head through the neck of the vest, which is represented to be so small, as scarcely to admit of the insertion of two fingers.

The truth of the matter is, that he was set aside by the *Ampat Súkú*, on account of his unfitness, and unpopularity. How the ex-*Panghúlú* contrived to slip his large head through the silken vest must still remain matter of conjecture to the learned.

In 1795, the English took possession of Malacca and Naning ; of the latter, under the same terms as the Dutch had held possession. In 1802, Colonel TAYLOR, the Resident at Malacca, made treaty with the ex-*Panghúlú* and the *Ampat Súkú*. Among other stipulations, it was agreed on that the *Panghúlú* chiefs, Menángxábowes or Malays of Naning, do pay one-tenth of the produce of the soil to the East India Company ; but in consideration of their poverty, it is resolved, that instead of paying the tenth, the *Panghúlú* come in person annually to Malacca, and present 400 *gantams* of paddy to Government. And further, that “ the *Panghúlú* and chiefs promise, in the name of the said community of Naning, that whenever the chief rulers happen to resign the Government, or any misfortune befall them, they shall in such case propose one of the nearest and most qualified of his family to the Governor of Malacca, for his successor ; but it is not expected that such a proposal must always meet the Governor’s approbation ; on the contrary, it is optional with him, whom he thinks proper to appoint.”

Colonel FARQUHAR became Resident of Malacca in 1803, and in 1809, reserved to the British Government, the power of inflicting capital punishment on criminals in Naning. The duty of one crusadoe, on boats coming down from Naning, was withdrawn.

In 1810, the Dutch again assumed possession of Malacca. In 1822, Governor TIMMERMAN THYSEN, had caused a statement of the land’s produce of Naning to be drawn out, and transmitted it to the Netherlands Government at Batavia, with the ulterior view of levying the tenth. But before their decision was received, the British flag was again hoisted at Malacca. This took place in April, 1825. Up to this period, the 400 *gantams*, in lieu of the tenth, had been annually paid by the different *Panghúlús* of Naning. In 1827, the *Panghúlú* and *Ampat Súkú*, came down to Malacca to pay their re-

spects to the new Resident, Mr. GARLING, who had been appointed in 1826. In 1828, Mr. LEWIS, Assistant Resident, proceeded to Tabú, the capital (if a village be so called) of Naning, with the view of making arrangements with the chiefs, for putting that territory on the same footing as the Malacca lands, which, in pursuance of Mr. FULLARTON's plans, had been transferred, on the 15th of March, 1828, by the private landholders, for the aggregate annual sum of 17,000 Sicca Rupees, to Government, from the 1st of November, 1828, but afterwards fixed from the 1st of June, until such period as the British flag should continue to fly at Malacca. Mr. LEWIS was empowered to offer the *Panghúlú* the sum of 600 Spanish dollars, and each of the *Ampat Súkú*, 50 per annum, provided they would consent to transfer their lands to Government, in order that the tenth might be levied thereon, as well as on the Malacca lands.

These proposals met with a refusal.

In 1829, Mr. CHURCH, Deputy Resident, was sent to Sungí-puttye, on the Naning frontier, to confer with the *Panghúlú*, with instructions to make known to him that Naning was an integral part of Malacca, and that it was intended by Government to subject it also to the general regulations affecting the rest of the Malacca territory, but directed no immediate levying of this duty. He was further instructed to take a census, and to make it known, that all offenders, except in trivial matters, must be sent down in future to Malacca for trial. Mr. CHURCH, on the part of Government, offered the *Panghúlú* and *Ampat Súkú* pensions as a compensation.

The census was allowed to be taken, but the rest of these conditions met with an absolute negative.

When Mr. FULLARTON arrived, he wrote to the *Panghúlú*, who had not presented himself with the annual tribute, summoning him to Malacca, but without effect. An expedition was then proposed to be sent to chastise the sturdy chief; but deferred, pending a reference to the Supreme Government. The *Panghúlú* still further committed himself by the forcible and unjustifiable seizure of a *Duson*, at Panchúr, within the Malacca boundary, the hereditary property of INCHI SURIN.

This man preferred his plaint to Government, and in consequence another message was dispatched.

The *Panghúlú's* answer set forth a determination to retain the *Duson*, affirming it to be his own property, and impeaching the right of Government to interfere. A proclamation was now published, declaring, that ABDUL SAYAD had forfeited all his claims, and was thenceforth no longer *Panghúlú* of Naning.

Such are the principal circumstances leading to the expedition in August, 1831, its failure, and the subsequent successful operations in 1832.

Tabu fell on the 15th June, 1832, ABDUL SAYAD having barely time to carry off his family and his *Kabesaran*. The chest in which these relics were deposited fell into the hands of the troops. The *Panghúlú* fled first to Condong in Rumbowe, thence to Míko, and finally to Passir, in Sriminánti. Here he left his family, and has been wandering about the interior for some time past. After the evacuation of Tabu, he paid several pious visits to the tombs of his ancestors, who there lie buried; he has since returned to Sriminánti, where he lives in indigence, and would probably come in on terms and deliver himself up to Government.

His private property and lands have been confiscated.

The *Ampat Súkú* fled to Sabang, but finally separated and sought asylum in the neighbouring states. The two Mantris, MELANA HAKIM and GOMPOR, who principally instigated their chief to rebellion, are at Míko, (since returned.)

Mr. IBETSON visited Naning in the ensuing October, and created 15 *Panghúlús* over the different *Mukims*, or parishes, into which the country is divided, and thereby abolished the ancient power of the *Panghúlú* and *Ampat Súkú*.

The office of these newly elected chiefs is to preserve peace and quiet in their respective *Mukims*; to examine into and decide matters of little importance. Cases of a heavy nature are to be referred invariably to Government, and not as formerly to the *Ampat Súká*, or heads of tribes, whose authority is now at an end.

They are to assist in the collection of the revenue, and apprehension of criminals; and are constituted as authorized channels of communication between the Government and the peasantry.

They derive no further emolument from their office, than part of their own lands, and produce being exempt from duty: this is also enjoyed by the four priests of each mosque.

On the 27th of October, 1832, Government took the judicious step of placing Naning and its new system of internal administration, under the superintendence of Mr. WESTERHOUT, a gentleman not only eminently qualified for the task by his perfect knowledge of the Malay character and capabilities, but on account of his extensive influence with the principal persons of the district and neighbouring independent states.

The terms under which Mr. WESTERHOUT undertook the settlement of the country are principally as follows: that he shall have the whole



of the tenth collected in Naning, until the 30th April, 1834, his travelling expences to be defrayed on the usual scale. Mr. WESTERHOUT is to introduce and establish the collection of the tenth, he shall make a census of the population, number of houses, &c. The quantity of grain sown by each individual is to be ascertained by him; also the extent of ground belonging to those individuals who are exempt from paying the duty. He shall likewise ascertain the quantity and nature of the lands, lately the property of DHOL SAYAD, and send in a return to Government of the new *Panghúlús* and places under their authority. The expediency of a number of wells being sunk at intervals of half a mile apart, along the Naning boundary-line with Rumbowe and Johore, was also suggested by Government.

On the 9th of January, 1833, Mr. WESTERHOUT met the Rumbowe chiefs at Sungí seaport, near the frontiers of Rumbowe, to arrange the respective boundaries. The boundary line agreed on follows the ancient one as far as Jírat Gunjí, from thence as stated before.

The Rumbowe chiefs revived some old claims to the Ramoan Chinas, stating, that in their old boundary papers, the line passed from Qualla Lingí over Bukit Bruang, and through Ramoan China, &c. to Padang Chachar.

We also find the Rájá of Salangore making a somewhat similar claim, in 1804, encroaching on the Company's territories as far as Sungí Baru. (Vide ANDERSON'S Considerations, page 203.)

They however readily ceded the point, when informed that according to all European copies of former treaties, the boundary-line in that quarter was the Lingí river, and that the Ramoan Chinas had always been private property under the Dutch and English Government.

The country, since the taking of Tabu, has been occupied by the Madras troops; but as its security has progressed, and the inhabitants have become more and more settled, the force has been gradually diminished. Distress and poverty are still too visible. These powerful agents, operating on a few desperate characters, have produced, in many instances, the natural results, robbery and murder. The newly-created *Panghúlús*, with families, crying out for food at home, and fearful for their own personal safety, are at present very far from being useful as a police; in time to come, after the machine has once received a proper impulse, the inhabitants returned to their rice-fields, and the ex-*Panghúlú*, now dwelling in the neighbouring state of Sríminánti, disposed of, then the troops may be withdrawn, or concentrated in a central post, and the *Panghúlús*, with their *Mata Matas*, may then be found sufficient for the duties required of them; but at present they stand more in

need of support themselves, than they are able to afford it to the wretched rayats under them.

Most part of the above was written while in camp at Alor Gajeh, a place situated nearly in the centre of Naning, about 12 miles from the Rumbowe frontier, during part of 1832, and the beginning of 1833. Since this period, up to the present (1834), the inhabitants have, with few exceptions, returned to their native villages. The *ex-Panghulú* came down from Sriminánti, and surrendered himself unconditionally to Government, on the 5th of February, 1834.

He has been permitted to reside at Malacca, and draw a salary from Government of 30 Sicca Rupees per mensem; has been sanctioned on this condition of his binding himself in 1000 Spanish dollars, and finding two securities in 500 Spanish dollars each, that he shall be forthcoming whenever called upon.

He has since this resided at Malacca, where he has received much attention from all classes of the native population. He is a hale, stout man, apparently about 50 years of age, of a shrewd and observant disposition, though highly imbued with the superstitions of his tribe. His supernatural efficacy in the cure of diseases is still firmly believed in, as that of certain kings of England was at no very remote period by their enlightened and scrofulous subjects; and his house is the daily resort of the health-seeking followers of Muhammed, Foh, Brahma, and Buddh.

The census of 1833-4, has exceeded those of former years, amounting to men, women, and children, 5,079. Although by the Muhammedan law, a Musalman enjoys the privilege of possessing four wives, provided he can maintain them, yet we find in Naning the number of males exceeds that of females by one hundred and sixty-one.

MONTESQUIEU, I believe, in a defence of polygamy among Asiatics, adduces as a cause the superior comparative number of females prevailing in the East. The population of Naning, like that of other Malayan states of the peninsula, is in a low state; in absence of other causes, generally assigned by political economists for this deficiency, may be ascribed the natural unproductiveness of the females: few bearing more than six children: the ravages of the small-pox, unchecked by inoculation or vaccination; the immoderate and constant practice of smoking opium, by those able to purchase this pernicious drug; and, perhaps, may be added, the poverty prevailing in many of its villages. The Malays, equally with other followers of Islam, are religiously bound to marry; hence we perceive few unmarried persons who have arrived at years of puberty. Prostitution and its attendant evils are extremely uncommon.

I have observed many instances of longevity in the interior ; seventy or eighty years is an age by no means rare. An instance of 120 years, has been related to me, on respectable authority, occurring in the person of DATTU PUAN, a native of Lubo Koppong, in Naning, who died some years ago at Sungi Baru. This truly patriarchal old man lived to see his descendants in the fifth generation.

*Produce of 1833-4.*—The last rice crops were not so abundant as expected, owing to a bad season, and the employment of the newly returned inhabitants in rebuilding their houses, repairing the *Ampan-gans*, or dams thrown across the rivers, for purposes of irrigation. The total produce of paddy amounted to 137,985 gantams. The tenth levied on this, and the other articles of produce, covered the expences of the district of Naning with a small overplus. The face of the country now presents every where the prospect of a plentiful harvest.

The Malacca lands, ceded during Mr. FULLARTON'S administration, by the Dutch proprietors to the British Government, in 1828, have however by no means repaid the expence of holding them, being a heavy annual loss to the Company. This I think is principally to be attributed to the extravagant compensation sums paid yearly, for the tenure right to the proprietors. Other causes operating indirectly on the revenue, to account for a small portion of this deficiency, exist ; for instance, the *Sirih farm*.

*Collection of the Revenue.*—The tenth\* on the rice crops is levied in Naning much in the same manner as in the ceded lands, just mentioned, in the vicinity of Malacca.

When the grain is ripe, a person on the part of Government visits the rice-fields, attended by the owner, the *Panghúlú*, or *Mata Matas* of the village, and several of the oldest inhabitants on the spot, in order to agree on and assess its value. Regarding this point, a difference of opinion is naturally to be expected to arise between the taxer and the taxed. This is generally submitted to the arbitration of the *Panghúlú* and the village elders. But should these persons again assess the crop at a lower value than the collector's agent really thinks it worth, the latter has still the resource of offering to purchase the whole of the crop on the part of Government at the price the

\* The sovereign's right to the tenth has been from time immemorial acknowledged in Malayan states. This custom is very ancient, and appears to have prevailed over a great portion of the known world, and among nations of a very different character and religion ; for instance, the Jews, the Gauls, the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans. It was originally offered to the gods, and their priests ; and then to sovereigns, who not frequently united the sacerdotal functions with their temporal powers.

owner has justly valued it. This has been done in a few cases, I believe, and has been invariably refused. It is not therefore improbable, all circumstances taken into consideration, that not more than 7 or 8 per cent. at the most ever finds its way into the Company's godowns. The tenth in kind on paddy is sold whenever a good price can be procured for it on the spot, and the proceeds lodged in the treasury. The tenth on the other articles of land produce is levied at tolls placed at the entrances into Naning from Malacca, and there immediately sold.

Much inconvenience and loss is experienced by Government, through this uncertain mode of collecting the revenue. The tax itself too, as it rises with the produce, operates practically as a check to progressive increase in the cultivation.

A pecuniary compensation, or commutation, of the duty on the *sawahs*, or *wet lands*, fixed for a definite period, not less than five years, would be far more advantageous and convenient to both parties. It should be very moderate for the first period, during which the amount of the crops for each successive season should be carefully ascertained, as well as the increased quantity of land that would naturally be brought under cultivation. To such an arrangement the Naning cultivators are by no means averse, but they object to it with regard to the *ladang*, or dry land crops.

The desultory mode of cultivation known under the term *ladang*, of which Mr. MARSDEN has given an excellent description in his History of Sumatra, chap. iv., forms one of the principal obstacles to the introduction of the new land regulations into a Malayan country. Added to this, is the notorious dislike the Malays entertain to innovation and change, and their innate love of liberty and freedom from all shackles. They have a strong aversion to be bound down to the performance of any thing, even in matters which would afford them much amusement and pleasure, were they to act from free will and choice.

I am not aware of the *ladang* mode of cultivation offering any other advantages to the Malays, further than the charms of a wandering and shifting state of life.

The *ladang rice*, however, is affirmed by some to be sweeter and whiter, and to keep better than the produce of the *sawah*.

Although it is certain, that the chief present object is to improve and extend the agriculture of Naning, still its mineral resources should not be neglected.

At Bukit Bertam, gold was formerly procured, and considerable quantities of tin are known to exist throughout the district, particu-







larly at Bukit Kúkúsan, Súngi Bílú, Ulú Pondoi, and Súdí, near Tabu. At the latter place, Mr. WESTERHOUT has opened a mine, of the first produce of which I possess a very favorable specimen. There is in fact but little doubt that the mines in the vicinity of Malacca, if scientifically worked by persons of some little capital and perseverance, would prove of much intrinsic value; and otherwise benefit the country, by attracting into it an enterprising and industrious population.

The want of capital, and consequent haste to convert the produce into cash, is the great drawback, not only to mining speculations, but to the cultivation of pepper, and other spices, requiring still more time before yielding any return to the cultivator.

Colonel FARQUHAR might perhaps have been a little too enthusiastic in affirming, that "nature has been profusely bountiful to the Malay peninsula, in bestowing on it a climate the most agreeable and salubrious, a soil luxuriantly fertilized by numerous rivers, and the face of the country diversified with hills and valleys, mountains and plains, forming the most beautiful and interesting scenery that is possible for the imagination to figure," &c. &c. But nothing could be truer and better founded than his observation, viz. "We have only to lament that a more enterprising and industrious race of inhabitants than the Malays should not have possessed this delightful region."

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II.—*Description of Heavandoo Pholo, the Northern Atoll of the Maldive Islands. By Lieut. T. POWELL, I. N. Assistant Surveyor. Plate XVIII.*

**GEOGRAPHICAL SITE.** The Atoll Heavandoo Pholo, or head of the Maldives, situated upon the meridian of Bombay, and between the parallels of  $7^{\circ} 7'$  and  $6^{\circ} 55'$ , north latitude, consists of twenty-two islands, two islets, and two sand-banks, besides several small shoals and two large barrier reefs; the latter form the boundary of the Atoll to the S. W., W., and N. W., and along the outer edge are dry at low-water spring-tides: outside they are steep, having 50 and 60 fathoms close to them, and no ground at 150 fathoms, at the distance of 300 yards.

The northern or principal barrier has 10 islands, and two small islets on it: one of the latter, on its southern extremity, being close to Heavandoo: these are all situated on the inner side of the reef, having three or four, and in some places six fathoms water between them and its outer edge, with small channels for boats between each, formed by the natives having cleared away the coral rocks. Nearly in the centre of the Atoll there are three small islands; the eastern side is clear of

shoals, with the exception of two small patches between Gullandoo and Mooradoo; but on the western, there are several nearly dry, and some sunken patches, having from 3 to 10 fathoms on them. The soundings vary from 20 to 34 fathoms, the latter being the greatest depth of water obtained.

**POPULATION.** Of the twenty-two islands composing this Atoll, there are only seven inhabited, viz. Heavandoo, Koorrafooree, Katefooree, Turracoön, Colligaum, Beeramerdoo, and Mooradoo. In the margin\* I have noted the number of inhabitants and boats upon each, by which it will be seen, that the population, including men, women, and children, does not exceed 760 individuals. The boats are all employed in fishing: the trade between this Atoll and Tilla Dow Madow, whence they are supplied with such articles as they require, being carried on in those of the latter.

The islands are so similar in form and natural productions, that it would be a waste of time to describe them separately. I shall therefore give a sketch of Heavandoo, the island of greatest importance in this group; not so much on account of its size, as from its being the residence of the Sultán's Vizier when he visits the Atoll. It is of a triangular form, about one mile in length, and is composed of coral, elevated about 12 feet above the level of the sea. The western side is thickly covered with cocoanut and bread-fruit trees; and the northern and eastern, with thick brush wood: the interior, which is 3 or 4 feet lower than the sides, has been cleared by the inhabitants for the purpose of cultivating a small grain called Bimbí. The supply, however, which with the exception of a few sweet potatoes, pumpions, and limes, forming the only vegetable production of the island, is not sufficient for their support. The village, consisting of about 50 huts and 150 inhabitants, stands on the S. W. side. The huts, surrounded by spacious inclosures, are in general constructed of a frame-work of the wood of the cocoanut tree, the interstices filled up with leaves stitched together, and the roof neatly thatched with the same material. In the vicinity there are good paths intersecting the island in different directions, which, being kept remarkably clean by the women, form

* Island.	Population.	No. of Boats.
Heavandoo,.....	150	6
Koorrafooree, .....	160	5
Katefooree,.....	70	3
Turracoön, .....	50	2
Colligaum, .....	150	4
Beeramerdoo,.....	30	2
Mooradoo, .....	150	5



pleasant walks, shaded from the sun by the thick foliage of the cocoa-nut and other trees. Like the natives of the other Atolls they gain their livelihood by fishing. Cocoanuts, and the fish called by them Goom-le-mus (Boneta), which are caught in great quantities, form their principal food: rice, being imported, is very scarce, and only procurable by the better class of inhabitants. Fresh water is plentiful, wells having been dug in almost every quarter of the island; but the best is procured from those situated in the burying ground. Fowls are abundant on all the islands, but not easily procured, being remarkably wild and difficult to catch, and the natives too indolent to take the trouble necessary to secure them. Money, for which they have little use, will not fetch its full value; rice, tobacco, and betel-nuts being the best medium of barter.

#### WEATHER.

*October.* The winds moderate and variable from W. S. W. to N. with cool, pleasant weather, and occasional hard squalls, accompanied by heavy showers of rain.

*November.* Light breezes from N. N. E. to N. N. W., and occasional squalls from the eastward, until the 22nd, when dark, cloudy tempestuous weather and incessant rain set in from the W. N. W. On the 27th, it cleared up, and continued fine for the remainder of the month.

*December.* Moderate breezes generally from E. N. E., with pleasant clear weather, occasionally from E. S. E., with squalls and rain.

During these three months, the mean temperature of the atmosphere ranged from 80° to 84°, frequently decreasing in the squalls to 78°.

The tides are extremely irregular, and at all times influenced by the prevailing winds and currents.

During the strong westerly breezes, the flood set to the eastward, and continued to run for the greater part of the day; but when they moderated, the ebb, in like manner, set to the westward, the water falling 6 or 7 inches lower than I had ever seen it before even on the springs.

In moderate weather, when the tides flow with somewhat greater regularity, the ebb always runs an hour and a half longer than the flood.

The rise and fall of water is then about five feet, and the velocity about a mile and a half per hour.

In October, November, and December, the current to the westward of the Atoll set to the southward, at the rate of 36 miles per day: the natives say, that it commences about the middle of September, and continues to the end of December, when the easterly winds set in, then turns to the westward, and runs in that direction until April.

Of this group, I conceive Heawandoo Island is better adapted than any other for a coal depôt: it lies nearly in a direct line between Point de Galle and Socotra, at about one-third of the whole distance from the former place, is easy of access in every direction, and possesses safe anchorages for ships and steamers in all seasons. During the S. W. monsoon, a vessel could anchor on the east side of the island between it and a small reef, dry at low-water; in the N. E. monsoon, the best anchorage is in the channel between the island and the south barrier reef in 16 or 17 fathoms, sand and rocks. Opposite both these anchorages, there are good landing places for boats, which are procurable in sufficient numbers, and may easily be made available for the landing or shipment of coals, &c. The natives, who are civil and peaceable, might I think, be induced to work for a small hire, such as rice, tobacco, &c. or any other remuneration they might consider adequate.

In approaching Heawandoo Pholo Atoll, from the eastward, a vessel ought to sight Kilah, the northernmost Island of the Tilla Doo Matte Atoll, and then steer across the channel to Heawandoo Island, passing close to Gullandoo, to avoid the small patches between it and Moor-doo.

### III.—*Examination of a Mummy Head, supposed to be brought from Egypt by Lieut. ARCHBOLD. By Dr. GEORGE EVANS.*

[In a letter to the Secy., read before the Asiatic Society, July 1, 1835.]

[The mummy preparations, to which the following note refers, were presented at the meeting of the Asiatic Society, the 3rd Sept. 1834. There were two wrappers, supposed to contain the sacred *Ibis*: one of these was opened in the presence of Drs. GRANT, PEARSON, BRAMLEY, and EVANS. The head, being in a decayed state, was, after taking a sketch, to shew the mode of dressing the hair, given to Dr. EVANS, who himself kindly undertook to clean it as an osteological specimen for the Society's museum.—ED.]

In returning these relics of antiquity, I have again to offer an apology for having detained them so long in my possession; they are at length put up as preparations, and as such will, no doubt, remain many years in a good state of preservation.

In my examination of the smaller, I have so far succeeded as to shew satisfactorily that four birds are embodied in the mass we supposed to be the mummy of the sacred *Ibis*. With the aid of the marks I have made, you will be able to distinguish eight distinct feet, with their toes and claws, severally attached; also three heads: the fourth, I take for granted, is there also, and seated below the parts already exposed, but the crumbling and decayed state of the mummy renders

its display somewhat difficult, and any attempt to bring it into view would, I fear, endanger the spoiling of the preparation. I therefore thought it best to leave it unexplored. What description of birds they are, it is difficult to say; the form of the heads and mandibles would lead me to pronounce them Plovers, but for the toe at the back of the foot, which is altogether wanting in the genus *Charadrius*; it is therefore not improbable they belong either to the Rail or *Tringa* family. Whatever they are, it is evident they must have been enclosed when very young, and barely fledged; for I can detect no quill feathers or traces of any having been attached to the wings, although the smaller feathers are closely matted together, and distinct enough. What further tends to confirm this opinion is, the great disproportion of the bones of the wings to those of the legs and other parts of the body—a discrepancy common to all young birds before they attain the power of flight. I am consequently disposed to consider them as nestlings, and think it not unlikely that a variety of birds, besides the *Ibis Religiosa*, might have been deified by the ancient Egyptians.

In detaching the birds from the enveloping bituminous matter, I met with a seed of the common castor oil plant, apparently in a good state of preservation. As it is a curious circumstance, I have enclosed it in a small phial along with the fragments of Beetles you sent for my inspection: these latter appear to be portions of a small kind of common *locusts*; elytra of some kind of *Buprestis*, and pieces of a species of *carabus*; but in their mutilated condition it is impossible to identify any of them with existing specimens.

The head is that of a female, rather below the ordinary stature of women, and I should say about 20 or 22 years of age, judging from the best criterion, the teeth, and the little attrition they seem generally to have undergone. The dentes sapientiæ in both jaws are only partially advanced, which with the profusion and colour of the hair, and the tiara kind of form it is drest in, I think are sufficiently indicative of youthfulness. The lineaments of the face must have been small, compressed laterally, and much sunken below the eyes, for the sinuosities beneath the orbits are remarkably deep, and the malar bones very angular and projecting. The forehead is low, and though straight for its extent is by no means ample, giving a facial angle of about  $78^{\circ}$ , indicating no extraordinary development of the intellectual and reflecting faculties, and an approach to what Camper would call the minimum of comeliness; but the angle is evidently diminished by the great protrusion of the upper maxilla, from the nasal spine, of which the measurement is made in taking the facial line.

The nasal aperture is wide and capacious, and nearly circular, owing it would seem to the very divergent state or distance of the nasal processes of the superior maxillæ from each other; the separation being to the full extent of an inch, which is an unusual width for so small a skull. Nasal bones large and prominent, with a good bridge-like convexity. The styloid processes, which in a full grown male adult have often only a ligamentous connection to the temporal bones, have here an ossific union, and are withal unusually long and firm, considering the age and sex of the individual. The great foramen at the base of the skull is elongated from before backwards, and would seem to correspond with the compressed sides of the head, and projecting state of the occipital bone, on which the organs of amativeness and philoprogenitiveness are rather fully developed.

The only marked peculiarity observable in the lower jaw is the recedent chin, which being on a contrary inclination to the facial line, is a further departure from the Grecian ideal model of beauty, while it is a strong characteristic mark of Ethiopian descent.

The vomer or bone forming the partition of the nose was found loose in the cranial vault, and there is little doubt, must have been forced there at the time of embalment, when the ethmoid bone was broken down, to allow of the removal of the brain and contents of the skull, which, it is evident, could only have been disposed of through the chamber of the nose.

In my examination of this head, it appears to me, that the leading characters of the Caucasian variety of the human race (under which both ancient and modern Egyptian are included) in this individual instance are far from being prominent, or distinct; and as some of the peculiar traits that characterize the Ethiopian formation, (taking it in its wide extended sense,) on the other hand, are most conspicuous, it is not unlikely that the subject of comparison may be of mixed origin, and probably of Egyptian and Abyssinian descent.

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IV.—*Memorandum on the Fœtus of the Squalus Maximus.* By  
Dr. J. T. PEARSON, Curator.

This specimen of the fœtus of a shark having been sent to me by Mr. J. C. WILSON, I have put it up in spirits, and have now the pleasure of presenting it, in his name, to the Asiatic Society.

The species appears to be the *Squalus Maximus* of Linnæus; and Mr. WILSON states in his note that "a shark of 11 feet in length was



caught by the *Middies* of the Hashemy on her last voyage here : on being cut open, there were no less than 43 youngsters disclosed to view, all alive and frisky. Two of them were *embalmed* in the way you see by Mr. Dawson one of the middies, and by him presented to me. It was the opinion of those on board, from the appearance of the young folks, that they must have been occasional visitors of the salt ocean, and had only retired to rest when discovered."

Upon this latter point it may be remarked, that setting aside the impossibility of such a thing on other accounts, the specimen is, so far as a mere external examination can decide, in the fœtal state ; and, consequently, unfitted for a residence for any time, however short, in the water. Nor is such an idea in accordance with what we know of the ovoviviparous fishes, being able to seek for nourishment themselves, and altogether independent of their mother, immediately upon their being ejected from the womb.

June 3, 1835.

V.—*Result of the Observations made on the Tides at Madras, from the 31st May, to the 10th October, 1821, by means of a Tide-gauge fixed near the north-east angle of the Fort.*

Phases and Age of the Moon.	Time of High-water.	Surface of the Water below the Guage mark.			Difference between high and low water.
		At H. W.	At L. W.	Mean level.	
	h. m.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
Full and Change.	8 58	5 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	7 11	6 7 $\frac{1}{8}$	2 7 $\frac{3}{4}$
2nd — 16th, ..	9 26	5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	8 1	6 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
3rd — 17th, ..	10 0	4 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 2 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
4th — 18th, ..	10 30	4 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 5 $\frac{3}{4}$
5th — 19th, ..	11 0	4 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 5 $\frac{7}{8}$	3 2 $\frac{3}{4}$
6th — 20th, ..	11 42	4 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 2	6 6 $\frac{7}{8}$	3 2 $\frac{3}{4}$
7th — 21st, ..	12 12	5 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 7 $\frac{1}{8}$	2 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
8th — 22nd, ..	12 30	5 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 7	2 5
9th — 23rd, ..	1 21	6 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 0	7 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
10th — 24th, ..	3 6	6 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 0	7 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
11th — 25th, ..	4 45	6 6	8 3	7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 9
12th — 26th, ..	5 24	6 7	8 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 6 $\frac{1}{8}$	1 10 $\frac{1}{4}$
13th — 27th, ..	6 25	6 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	7 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 0
14th — 28th, ..	7 11	5 11	8 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 1
29th, ..	7 37	5 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	8 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 10 $\frac{5}{8}$	2 4
Average mean level and lift, ..		5 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 1	6 10	2 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

The Madras Herald of the 3rd June, 1835, whence the above table is extracted, remarks : that " until the 29th of July, the observations

were frequently interrupted ; but that after that date, they were made daily, at every tide, in every 24 hours : and as there appears some difference in the results obtained from the subsequent period, they are given in the following statement."

*Circumstances of the Tides from 29th July to 10th October, 1821, both inclusive.*

Age of the Moon.	Time of High Water.	Surface of the Water below the Gauge mark.			Difference between high and low water mark.
		H. W.	L. W.	Mean.	
	h. m.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
Full and Change.	8 54	5 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 10 $\frac{3}{8}$	2 11 $\frac{1}{8}$
2nd — 16th, ..	9 24	5 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 3 $\frac{3}{4}$
3rd — 17th, ..	9 54	4 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 3	6 7 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
4th — 18th, ..	10 24	5 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 2	6 7	3 1 $\frac{1}{8}$
5th — 19th, ..	11 0	4 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 1	6 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
6th — 20th, ..	11 42	4 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 2	6 6 $\frac{7}{8}$	3 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
7th — 21st, ..	12 12	5 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 7 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
8th — 22nd, ..	12 50	5 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 7	2 5
9th — 23rd, ..	1 21	6 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	7 0 $\frac{3}{8}$	2 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
10th — 24th, ..	3 6	6 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 1 $\frac{1}{8}$	7 3	1 8 $\frac{7}{8}$
11th — 25th, ..	4 24	6 6	8 4	7 5	1 10
12th — 26th, ..	5 24	6 7	8 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
13th — 27th, ..	6 18	6 4	8 4 $\frac{3}{8}$	7 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
14th — 28th, ..	6 48	5 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	7 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 4 $\frac{3}{8}$
29th, ..	7 37	5 5	8 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Average level and lift,	..	5 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 10 $\frac{3}{8}$	2 7 $\frac{3}{8}$

" Although this statement appears less anomalous than the last, in some respects, it is not so in all; and as the other has the advantage of including the period of the long shore winds and strong southerly currents, it is a better average for the whole season than the last."

[*Note.*—It would have been more satisfactory if the state of the moon's declination, parallax, &c. had been attended to in the period selected for the above observations. Still, however, the table will be useful, as a reply *tanti* to the desiderata of the Rev. Professor WHEWELL, regarding tides on our Indian coasts, which was published in the first volume of the Journal. We wish we had similar information from other points on the coast, and especially from the other side of the Bay ; and we cannot let the present opportunity pass of bringing the subject to the notice of our friends at Chittagaon, Rámrí, Moulmein, Penang, and Malacca. A single period of a complete lunation, carefully observed as to the direction, velocity, rise, and precise time of the day, and night tides, noting also the time of the moon's meridional passage, would be useful, and would cost but little trouble. All who have seen Professor WHEWELL's laborious map of the tidal wave, traced in its course over the whole surface of the globe, in the last volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, would, we are confident, willingly contribute to the perfection of so interesting and useful a problem.—ED.]

VI.—*Further Notes and Drawings of Bactrian and Indo-Scythic Coins.**By JAMES PRINSEP, Secy., &c.*

Various causes have prevented the continuance of my imperfect notes on the numerous and highly curious coins which have passed under my inspection, since I last ventured my observations on the KANERKOS and KADPHISES group, as connected with the Manikyála Tope. Want of leisure to attempt the engraving of so many plates, and the desire to profit by a farther collection, of which I had received notice from Shekh KERÁMAT ALÍ, but which has not yet reached me, were among the principal causes of my dilatoriness. Some little deference however was also due to many of my subscribers, who complained, that I was deluging them with old coins ! Having at length found time to engrave the first six plates of my proposed series, in elucidation of the principal new coins of Dr. GERARD'S, KERAMAT ALÍ'S, and Gen. VENTURA'S splendid discoveries, I cannot refrain from putting on record the little I have to say regarding them ; the rather as we may soon expect to hear from Paris of the reception General VENTURA'S collection has met from the savans of that city, many of them so eminent for this branch of enquiry ; and we are, on the other hand, expecting a fresh memoir from Mr. MASSON, which might anticipate some of the discoveries I would fain claim for myself, in this fair and highly interesting game of antiquarian research ! Little indeed can I claim as my own, save the labour of classifying the coins, as they have come down at successive intervals—two or three hundred from KERA'MAT ALÍ, forwarded through Captain WADE ; then as many more from the late Doctor GERARD\*, brought down by MOHAN LÁL, who assisted him in procuring them ; and lastly, the rich spoils entrusted by Gen. VENTURA to the Chevalier ALLARD for conveyance to Paris. The careful examination of the whole has brought to light the names of several princes unknown to history, and some few not included in the very curious and novel list of Mr. MASSON, published in the 3rd vol. of this Journal. It has also enabled me to appropriate to their right owners many of the coins of Lieut. BURNES and other collectors, engraved in former plates : further, it has furnished me a clue to the Bactrian form (if we may so call it) of the Pehleví character, which is found on the reverse of many of these coins ; and lastly, it has lain open a perfect link and connection between what we have hitherto called the Indo-Scythic

\* The death of this zealous and indefatigable traveller has not yet been recorded in these pages. I trust that his brothers, whose labours have always been equally prominent in the cause of science, will favour me with the materials for a worthy obituary of their lamented brother.

coins, with corrupted Greek inscriptions, and the Hindu coins attributed with reasonable certainty to the Kauouj dynasties, immediately anterior to the Mahomedan irruptions of the 11th century. In a few more years we shall doubtless have the whole series, from the time of ALEXANDER downwards, fully developed :—at present in these detached notices we can expect to do no more than hazard fresh conjectures, and wipe out former errors as we advance.

There are but few authors to assist us in our task, and the passages from them have been so often repeated, that it will be unnecessary again to quote. Neither BAYER's work nor the Baron DE SACY's are in our library : but, I have to thank Professor WILSON for kindly sending me sketches made by himself of the Bactrian coins, depicted in the former author, and in SESTINI and VISCONTI, several of which I am able to recognize. Of individual friends, who have favored me with their aid in furnishing specimens and information, I cannot omit mentioning Captain C. M. WADE, Dr. SWINEY, and Col. STACY\* : the services of the latter numismatologist will be more fully appreciated when we come to talk of Hindu coins. In Bactrian, the field is of course less open to collectors on this side the Satlej ; yet not a few very fine coins have been picked up even within the limits so successfully run over by Col. TOD himself.

The coins of the two first princes of Bactria, by name THEODOTUS the I. and II. are yet unknown ; perhaps they never struck money, but were content with the Syrian currency then prevalent. With EUTHYDEMUS begins our collection—a purely Grecian coinage, bearing only Greek inscriptions, and, as far as hitherto known, all of silver. The coins of DEMETRIUS are more rare, but equally beautiful with those of his predecessor, and supposed father. HELIOCLES, the prince introduced on the authority of VISCONTI, will, I think, turn out to be our AGATHOCLES. With MENANDER begins the system of native legends on the reverse, which is followed up without intermission throughout the whole series to the barbarous KADPHISES. Some only of the coins of EUCRATIDES have a Pehlevi legend, as will be hereafter explained.

As the majority of the coins now to be introduced have these native legends on the reverse, it will better enable us to describe them if we begin by explaining what we have been able to make of the alphabet of this native language ; which, from its marked difference from other types of the same character, I have ventured to term *Bactrian-Pehlevi*.

\* Of Indian coins, my list of donors would be considerably swelled ; but it would be too like ostentation to enumerate them in this place.



Mr. MASSON first pointed out in a note addressed to myself, through the late Dr. GERARD, the Pehleví signs, which he had found to stand for the words *Menandrou*, *Apollodotou*, *Ermaïou*, *Basileos*, and *Soterios*. When a supply of coins came into my own hands, sufficiently legible to pursue the inquiry, I soon verified the accuracy of his observation; found the same signs, with slight variation, constantly to recur; and extended the series of words thus authenticated, to the names of twelve kings, and to six titles or epithets. It immediately struck me that if the genuine Greek names were faithfully expressed in the unknown character, a clue would through them be formed to unravel the value of a portion of the Alphabet, which might in its turn be applied to the translated epithets and titles, and thus lead to a knowledge of the language employed. Incompetent as I felt myself to this investigation, it was too seductive not to lead me to an humble attempt at its solution.

In Plate XX. are contained the whole of these corresponding legends, Greek and Pehleví, collated from a very numerous collection, and deemed to be of sufficient authenticity to be assumed as the data of this inquiry. At the risk of being thought tedious, I will proceed to detail, letter by letter, the authority upon which each member of the new alphabet is supported.

1.  $\gamma$ , *a*. No less than four names, viz. *Apollodotus*, *Antimachus*, *Antilakides* and *Azos*, commence with the Greek *alpha*, which in all four cases is represented by the Pehleví character  $\gamma$ . To this, therefore, there can be no reasonable hesitation in ascribing the value of the initial *a* or *alif*, although it will be seen presently, that there is another *a* more conformable with the ordinary Pehleví *a*. It must be remarked that the present letter only occurs at the beginning of words.

2.  $\epsilon$ , *e*. Two names, *Ermaïos* and *Eucratides*, begin with the *epsilon*, and are found in the Pehleví to have equally the initial  $\epsilon$ ; this, on consideration, may be a variation of the initial vowel above given, to endue it with the sound of *e*. Another form of the same letter  $\eta$  occurs in one or two cases, expressing *u*; but the examples of these being too few to inspire certainty, I merely throw out the remark as a conjecture of analogy with the application of the initial *alif* of the Persian.

3.  $\rho$ , *o*. The next circumstance of note is, that every word, without any exception, ends in the letter  $\rho$ , sometimes written  $\bar{\rho}$ . The latter may perhaps be called the finished or capital character, bearing an analogy to the Devanágari letter, which is completed by a stroke on the top, as this is by one below: for we shall find that most of the other letters admit of the same addition.  $\rho$ , then, I have supposed to represent the terminal  $\aleph$  *h* of the Hebrew; or the short *omicron* of

the Greek, chiefly because I find upon the later series of coins bearing native words in Greek characters, which I described in my last Essay, (JOURNAL, III. p. 436;) that every word there ended in *o*; and, as I then remarked, M. BURNOUR explains that sound, in the *Zend*, to be the constant representative of the masculine nominative termination of the Sanscrit *as*, or Greek *os*.\* The letter  $\Psi$  never occurs in the middle of a word, as far at least as my experience proves. Some resemblance exists between it and the *Zend o*; but no letter in the known *Pehlevi* alphabets can be compared with it.

4.  $\cup$  or  $\Sigma$ , *m*. Of this letter we have three examples; one initial in *Menandrou*; two medial, in *Ermaiou* and *Antimachou*: there can be no doubt therefore of its being equivalent to *m*; although it differs essentially from all the recognized forms of this letter in the *Pehlevi* alphabets of sculptures and coins. It should be remarked, however, that in the case of *Menandrou*, it is affected with a vowel mark,  $\omega$ ; which, for reasons afterwards to be brought forward, I suppose to be the short *i* or *kasr*. Sometimes a dot is seen under this letter, which may have the power of some other vowel, probably the short *a*.

5.  $\Lambda$ , *z*, *j*, or *y*. This letter occurs in *Azou*,  $\Psi\Lambda\Omega$ , and in *Ermaiou*  $\Psi\Lambda\cup\Omega$ : wherein it represents the sound of *z* and of *y*. It is analogous therefore to the Sanscrit  $\Psi$ , which is pronounced both as *j* and *y*. The Greek and the Hebrew have only the letter *z* for the former sound. Nothing like this letter is found in the other *Pehlevi* alphabets, in the same position.

6.  $\Pi$ , *p*. Of this character, two examples are found; one in *Apollo-dotou*,  $\Psi\Gamma\cup\Omega\Pi\Omega$ ; the other in *Philoxenou*,  $\Psi\Xi\Gamma\cup\Pi$  where it probably stands in lieu of the aspirated *p*.

7.  $\Xi$ , *n*. Of this letter we find instances in *Menandrou*,  $\Psi\Xi\cup\Omega$  (*Minano*?) and in the example of *Philoxenou* last cited. There are others less decided, and some uncertainty prevails through the apparent substitution occasionally of an *l* for an *n*. The *Pehlevi* alphabet of sculptures has nearly the same form of *n*.

8.  $\Gamma$ ,  $\Delta$ ,  $\Sigma$ ,  $\Psi$ ,  $\Gamma$ ,  $\cup$ . In the Chaldaic, and its derivative alphabets, so much similitude exists between the characters representing *k*, *b*, *d*, and *r*, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish them. On the earlier and more perfect coins before us, this difficulty is increased much by the circumstance of the dies having been cut by Greek artists, who were in all probability ignorant of the *Pehlevi* tongue, and who therefore must have copied carelessly from imperfect samples furnished

\* " Dans les anciens manuscrits *Zend*,  $\delta$  final représente la syllable Sanscrite *as*, comme en *Pâli* et en *Prâcrit*,....  $\delta$  long se trouve d'ordinaire à la fin d'un mot."—*Obs. sur la gramm. de Bopp*, par M. Eug. Burnouf.

by their native underlings. We have in our own copper coinage, similar and notorious examples of the Nágari character so badly executed, that few even in the present day could certify the letters intended. In the more recent coins, and in proportion as the Greek deteriorates, the Pehleví improves; and our best examples are derived from the coins of the unknown AZOΞ. Guided by these, rather than by the strict analogy of the Chaldaic, I would venture to appropriate 𐎠 to *k*; 𐎡 and 𐎢 to *d*; 𐎣 and 𐎤 to *r*. As far however as examples go, 𐎠 or 𐎡 seems to stand indifferently for the two former, and for *t* likewise! Thus in the two last syllables of *Eucratidou*, we find 𐎠𐎡𐎢. (. . *tido* ?) In the same of *Apollodotou*, we have 𐎠𐎡. . and 𐎠𐎢. . (*dato* ?) In *Antila-kidou* 𐎠𐎢𐎣. ., the place of *k* is assumed by a letter, different from any hitherto found as such, and more like that we have on slender grounds set down as an *s*. 𐎢 may be the *k* affected by a vowel mark, or with an *r*, as it occurs also in *Eucratidou*.

It is only on convention, therefore, that I shall in future reserve

8. 𐎠, for *k* (and perhaps *g*).

9. 𐎡 or 𐎢 for *d* (sometimes misused for *t* ?).

10. 𐎣 or 𐎤 for *r*.

The same confusion will be perceived in the uppermost of the *Nakshi-Rustam* inscriptions in KER PORTER'S Travels, the most faithful representation of those antiquities which we possess. Many reasons would induce me to suppose this alphabet to be the same as ours, the *k*, *l*, *d*, and *r* are so nearly allied; but the *m* forbids their union.

11. 𐎡 and 𐎢, *l*. Here again is a perplexing case: the latter occupies the place of *l*, in *Apollodotou*, *Lysiou*, *Azilisou*, *Antilakidou*: but the former occurs in the word for 'king' 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 (*malakáo*) passim. It might be an *h*, and the latter word 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 (*maharáo*); but of this we shall have to say more anon: at present I am constrained to preserve both forms under the head of *l*.

12. 𐎠, *f*. This letter occurs on no coins but those bearing on the reverse the Greek *φ*; as *Kadphises*, *Pherros*, &c. It resembles considerably the common Pehleví form of *p*, and is only seen on the latest groups of coins; but it is common on the inscriptions of the cylinders found in the topes by Chev. VENTURA and M. COURT, and has there frequently a foot stroke, straight or curved, as in the 𐎠 above noted.

13. α, *p*? Whether this letter (α), which appears only on the latter coins of our series, in connections yet unread, be a mis-shapen variety of the *f*, is hard to say. It is precisely the *p* of the known Pehleví, and if inverted, forms the *m* of the same alphabet.

14. 𐎠 *s*. This letter rests on slight foundation; namely, the penultimate of *AZILISOU* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 (*aziliso*). It is however very similar to the Arabico-Persic-Pehleví *s* on the Sassanian coins, given in the table of

alphabets in LICHTENSTEIN's *Tentamen Palæographiæ Assyrio-persicæ*.

15. 𐬀 and 𐬁, *ā*. This letter has so strong a likeness to the Hebrew *y ain*, that I have been tempted at once to assign to it the sound of broad *a*, without any positive example in any of the Greek names of princes to warrant it. Indeed, the *ain* being unknown in the Greek, it could not naturally express any member of that alphabet in the names of Greek princes, which may account for its absence there; but in the native words, its use is almost constant, and it frequently precedes 𐬂, forming the diphthong *áo* so prevalent in Zend words. It is moreover identical in form with the *a* of the sculptured Pehleví inscriptions in Persia. No instance occurs of its beginning a word.

Several other letters are met with, for which counterparts in Greek cannot be so easily assigned. Some seem to be mere variations of form; but the knowledge of them will be essential before the writing on the cylinders can be decyphered.

16. 𐬃 seems to terminate words, and may therefore be equivalent to 𐬂. On the coin Pl. XX. No. 32, the combination 𐬃𐬂 occurs, which bears a strong resemblance to the word *malak*, as written in the ordinary form of Pehleví; but if two languages were exhibited on one coin, the distinction would have been more marked.

17. 𐬄, in some cases seems a badly written 𐬂: in others it takes the place of *ε*, *n*; as in 𐬂𐬄𐬀 *minano*. In some examples it would be best explained as a vowel, as in the first syllable of *Eucratidou* . . 𐬄𐬀, also found written . . . 𐬄𐬀; and both these forms approach that of the Pehleví vowels *e* and *u*.

18. 𐬅. This letter may naturally be supposed to be a variation in writing of 𐬆, which I have imagined to be the letter *k*, or *d*, affected with the vowel mark *i*; but so many examples may be shewn in which they represent *t* or *ti*, that perhaps both forms should be properly given to that letter.

19. 𐬆. This letter constantly occurs on the *Pherrou* coins, and on them only. It may be the 𐬅 inverted; but as the form 𐬆 also occurs once on the coins, and very frequently on the cylinders, it can hardly be denied a distinct existence. I have no authority for its value.

20. 𐬇. This letter is found representing the Greek *χ* in *Antimachou*; it has a considerable likeness to the *ch* of the common Pehleví.

21. 𐬈. The curve at the lower end of the second stroke of this letter alone distinguishes it from the 𐬉, or *p*; on the cylinders it generally has the curve: the tail is there extended below the line, and sometimes looped.

22. 𐬉, may be a variation of the supposed *s*, 𐬊; or it may be the *k* affected by a vowel mark: it is a common letter on the cylinders. Sometimes the hook is introduced on the opposite side of the stem, thus 𐬊, and this form may be a different vowel affection of the 𐬉 or *k*.



23.  $\text{H}$ . This mark, which wears rather the look of an ornament, is found on the coins having *Hercules* for the reverse, and only on them. I should not have included it among the letters, had it not so closely resembled the Arabico-Persic form of *a*, depicted in LICHTENSTEIN'S table. He there states it to belong to the Sassanian coins, but I have not remarked it on any that I have examined, either in books or cabinets.

24.  $\text{r}$ . This letter may be a variety of  $\text{A}$ , or it may be a distinct letter. On the cylinders it has a tall stroke in the centre,  $\text{r}$ ; taking the appearance of an inverted trident. I should have been inclined to pronounce it *zi* or *ji*, had I not already appropriated  $\text{A}$  to this syllabic form.

I need not say that all the above explanations are open to correction; and I fully expect before the end of the year, that the learned members of the Asiatic Society of Paris, who have now before their eyes the coins whence most of my data have been derived, with all that I had ventured to *guess* upon them communicated by letter, will have developed the whole alphabet, with an accuracy not to be attained, except through a previous knowledge of the ancient languages of Parthia, and Ariana.

The only types of the Pehleví character, with which we can institute a comparison of the above alphabet, are those derived from the imperfectly decyphered coins of the Sassanian dynasty of Persian monarchs; and the inscriptions on the sculptures at *Nakshi-Rustam*, *Nakshi-Rajab*, and the *Takhti-bostán*. These are attributed to the same period, on the certain authority of the names of BABEC, his son ARDASHIR, and grandson SHAPUR, found not only in the Pehleví, but also in the Greek version, which fortunately accompanies some of the inscriptions. The BARON DE SACY, to whose *Memoires sur les Antiquités de Perse*, the learned world was indebted for the restoration of these valuable monuments of antiquity, was only able to deal with *one* form of the Pehleví, namely, that situated below the Greek (see KER PORTER, II. 552): for the inscriptions are generally trilingual; the version above the Greek being more rude than the other, and having a striking resemblance to the Chaldaic. KER PORTER transcribes one or two portions of the upper inscriptions in Hebrew; and informs us, that DE SACY always found this character had the same meaning as the Hebrew, when transcribed letter for letter. This author has given in Plate XV. vol. i. of his *Travels*, a fine facsimile in the two languages of the *Nakshi-Rustam* text, which had not been decyphered at the time of the publication of his work. A considerable portion of the members of our alphabet exist precisely in the right hand version of this transcript;

such as 𐬀, 𐬁, 𐬂, 𐬃, 𐬄, 𐬅, 𐬆, 𐬇, &c. : but for want of a perfect alphabet, or of a Roman version of the inscription, no comparison can yet be made. The learned LICHTENSTEIN, in his dissertation on the arrow-headed character, has furnished a plate of all the varieties of Pehlevi and Zend, as known in his time, from the travels of NIEBUHR, &c. By way of exhibiting the analogy which exists between these and our new character, I have carefully set them in comparison, in Plate XIX., taking LICHTENSTEIN's imperfect alphabet of what he designates the *Arabico-Persic Zend*, as the only available one of this type. The *Pehlevi inscription* alphabet I have taken from KER PORTER's facsimiles; and the *Pehlevi of coins* from plates of coins in MARSDEN, KER PORTER, HYDE, &c., and from actual coins: but in most of the latter that I have seen, the letters are so very indistinctly formed, that it is quite impossible to read them; and, indeed, most of the attempts hitherto made have failed to pass the common titles:—the names are very obscure. A reflection here forces itself, that if the coins of the Sassanian court were so illegible, we need not be surprised at equal or greater difficulties attending those of the Bactrian princes.

In the 6th column I have inserted, at random, such of the letters on the cylinders, as approach in appearance to the coin types. No reliance however must be placed on this allocation, until a reading has been effected of some portion. It is only intended to shew, that the characters of the cylinders and coins are identical in their nature.

In the last column I have added the Zend alphabet, as restored with so much ability by M. BURNOUF. It has a few points of accordance with the Pehlevi; but the genius of it follows rather the Sanscrit type; and the constant expression of the vowels, long and short, distinguishes it essentially from the alphabets of Semitic origin.

Having thus completed our survey of the characters found on the Bactrian coins, and on the curious inscriptions extracted from the topes, (in which latter however we must expect to find such deviations from kaligraphy as a written text naturally exhibits,) let us now apply our uncertain knowledge, with circumspection, to the various names and titles on the coins themselves, and see how they may be read in Roman characters.

Plate XX. contains them all arranged—first, according to the full inscriptions; secondly, the names and titles separated. From what has been said above, I would venture thus to express the names of the Greek sovereigns in Roman letters.

Apollodotou, . . . . .	𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 <i>Apaladado</i>
Antilakidou, . . . . .	𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 <i>Atikalikado.</i>
Antimachou, . . . . .	𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 <i>Atimacho.</i>

Azou, . . . . .	𐭠𐭣𐭥 <i>Ajo</i> or <i>Ayo</i> .
Azilidou, . . . . .	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>Ajiliso</i> .
Eucratidou, . . . . .	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>Eukratido</i> .
Ermaiou, . . . . .	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>Ermayo</i> .
Menandrou, . . . . .	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 or 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>Minano</i> or <i>Midano</i> .
Philoxenou, . . . . .	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>Palatino</i> or <i>Palakino</i> .
Lysiou, . . . . .	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 or 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>Lisato</i> , or <i>Litato</i> ?
Nónou, . . . . .	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>Utalido</i> ?
Unadpherrou, . . . .	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>Fareto nanado</i> ?

It must be confessed, that many of these are highly unsatisfactory, especially the last three. The name of KADPHISES is omitted, as being still more indistinct.

Turning now to the titles and epithets, it does not seem difficult to recognize the same appellation, for “king,” and “king of kings,” as is read on the sculptured inscriptions at *Nakshi-Rustam*, and on the Sassanian coins, 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *malako*, and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *malakao-malako* (for *mala-kán-malaká*). When another epithet is introduced, such as “the great king of kings,” it is found interposed between the words *malakao* and *malako*, as 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. The same form of expression exists in the Hebrew מלכא רבבא מלכא דאתור *rex maximus rex Assyriæ*. Every one will remark the close resemblance of this expression with our text; as well as of מלכאן מלכא, the Pehleví title of the Persian sculptures, with 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; the terminations only being different, as might be expected in a different dialect. But, if the language of our coins be Zend, the word *melek*, for king, should not be expected in it: especially when we afterwards find it replaced by *rao* and *rao nano rao*, on the KANERKOS coins. It was this circumstance that led me to imagine the reading might be *maharáo*; but the combination *maharáo-maharó* is inadmissible, and overthrows the conjecture.

Pass we now on to the next title of most common occurrence, 𐭠𐭣𐭥, or 𐭠𐭣𐭥, ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, the Saviour. By our system this must be rendered either *rakako*, *radako*, or *radado*. Now the first of these three forms is precisely what might be expected to be the Zend reading of the Sanscrit word रक्षक, *raksaka*, Saviour, and that alone is a strong argument in favor of its adoption as the true reading of the term.

The title ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, first, we are told, assumed by EUCRATIDES, belongs to so many of his successors, that we have no difficulty in finding the exact version of the term in the Pehleví. There are, however, decidedly two readings of it; one 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥, the other 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥, with the omission of the duplicated letter in the centre. The obvious rendering of these two expressions would be *kák-káo* and *kákáo*. But I find in M. BURNOURF's *Commentaire*, that the Zend word for “great,” is *maz*, from the Sanscrit *mahá*, to which our term has no





*Coins with Greek inscriptions only.*

With EUTHYDEMUS of Magnesia, who conquered THEODOTUS II, B. C. 220, commences our present series : of his coinage I now possess a medal in silver, procured by MOHAN LÁL, for Dr. GERARD, near Kábul. It is superior in execution to the fine coin taken home by Lieut. BURNES. The exterior surface is of a dark-grey, like that of chloride of silver.

*Pl. XXV. fig. 1.*—EUTHYDEMUS, silver tetradrachma, weight 240 grs.

*Obverse.* Head of the king in high relief.

*Reverse.* HERCULES with his club, seated on clouds; inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.

*Fig. 2.*—A hemidrachma of DEMETRIUS, silver, in the Ventura collection; a very beautiful coin, similar to one depicted in Sestini.

*Obverse.* Head of the king, with helmet shaped like an elephant's skin and tusks.

*Reverse.* HERCULES standing, inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

## AGATHOCLES.

*Fig. 3.*—A silver coin of AGATHOCLES, in the Ventura collection.

*Obverse.* A well-executed head, with the royal fillet: short curly hair.

*Reverse.* Jupiter standing, holding a small female figure, having apparently a flambeau in either hand: on the sides ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, with a peculiar monogram.

The general appearance of the head, and of the figure on the reverse, resemble the unique coin of HELIOCLES which Mr. WILSON has sketched for me from VISCONTI's work. Should there have been any indistinctness in the first two letters of the name on that coin, we may find reason to erase HELIOCLES from the Bactrian monarchy, and to substitute AGATHOCLES, of whom Mr. MASSON has already made known to us ten very peculiar copper coins, (Jour. III. Pl. ix. fig. 17.) The inscription in Pehleví (?) on the reverse of those coins proves that they belong to a Bactrian prince, and are not to be ascribed to ALEXANDER's general of the same name, who is nowhere asserted to have assumed the regal power. The name is common enough. It was in revenge for a grievous insult offered to his family by one AGATHOCLES, prefect of the provinces beyond the Euphrates, under ANTIOCHUS THEOS, (B. C. 250,) that the Scythian ARSACES was roused to establish independent dominion in Parthia. The same party may have followed the example of assuming the title of king in some province of Bactria. That the coin does not belong to AGATHOCLES of Syracuse I can now assert with confidence, having before me the most beautiful plates of the coins of that sovereign, (whose name is always written in the Doric genitive *Agathocleios*, or *Agathocleios*,) in the 'Tresor de Numismatique', now under publication at Paris\*.

\* I discover in the same plate that the Greek coin (*obverse*, Minerva, and *reverse* Pegasus), described by me in the second vol. of this Journal (Pl. I. fig. 2) belongs



181 B. C. He was a cotemporary of MITHRIDATES I. of Parthia, who assisted him in repelling DEMETRIUS, king of *India*, as he is termed, beyond the Indian frontier, and finally driving him from his throne at the advanced age of 78 years. On the division of the conquered empire, MITHRIDATES had the provinces between the Hydaspes and Indus assigned to him; and EUCRATIDES, all the remainder, east and south, of his Indian possessions:—‘*all India*’ is the term used, but it is uncertain to what limit southward this expression should apply.

It has not yet been remarked by those who are curious in reconciling the names of Indian legend and Grecian history, that the names EUCRATIDES and VICRAMÁDITYA bear a close resemblance both in sound and in signification: while the epoch and the scene of their martial exploits are nearly identical. The Hindu accounts of VICRAMÁDITYA are not to be found in the regular Puránic histories, but only in separate legends, such as the *Vicrama Cheritra* and others, mentioned by WILFORD, (As. Res. IX. 117,) all teeming with confusion, contradictions, and absurdities in an extraordinary degree. The genealogical tables of the solar and lunar lines contain no such name, neither does it occur among the few notices of embassies to and from India to Syria and Rome, in the authors of the west†. EUCRATIDES’ empire was so extended and matured that he assumed the title of βασιλεὺς μέγας: thus the peaceful coin, *fig. 6*, was doubtless struck before his expeditions; those with the armed head, and the addition of “the great,” after his return: and it is remarkable that the latter only have a Pehleví legend on the reverse, being intended for circulation perhaps in his more southern provinces, or imitating in this respect the coins of MENANDER, whose reign in India had been so glorious. If the date assigned by BAYER (146 B. C.) to *Eucratides*’ death, be thought too far removed from the commencement of the *Samvat* era of VICRAMÁDITYA (56 B. C.), it may be argued, that as EUCRATIDES is acknowledged to be the last but one of the regular Bactrian kings, all the new names recently discovered—AGATHOCLES, MAYUS, PHILOXENUS, ANTIMACHUS, &c. must find their places before him in the list, which may easily bring down his date even a century.

The analogy between the Bactrian and the Indian heroes is, it must be confessed, of very slender texture, just enough to be hazarded as a web of speculation, which more skilful antiquarians may indulge their ingenuity in spinning out, or brushing aside as visionary.

† The embassy of “PORUS” to AUGUSTUS must have been immediately after VICRAMÁDITYA.—It is stated that his letters were written in the *Greek character*. The Scythians were then pressing the country.





*Fig. 5.*—Has on the *obverse*, the Indian elephant, with a monogram, and the usual title; and on the *reverse*, a *Brahmany* bull, with the same Pehlevi legend.

*Fig. 6.*—Is a copper coin in Dr. SWINEY's collection, the precise fellow to that described by Major TOD, in the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions.

*Figs. 7, 8.*—Are two from among several square copper coins brought down by MOHAN LA'L. They are nearly the same as the coin in Lieut. BURNES' collection, (J. A. S. vol. ii. pl. xi. fig. 7,) which, I then supposed to be a MENANDER, but which I am now able to recognize by its Pehlvi legend. The examples on these coins, are decisive of the orthography of 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 (Soterus.)

ANTILAKIDES.

*Figures 9, 10, 11, are three selected quadrangular coins of ANTILAKIDES, from six in the Ventura collection. The name was first made known by MASSON, who supposes from the beards, (which are not however so clear on the specimens before us,) that this prince and the next ATΣIOΣ belong to a separate dynasty. He detects the conical emblem of the reverse on one coin of EUCRATIDES. I have not however found any of the sort. One description will serve for all.*

*Obverse.* Head of the sovereign, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ  
ΑΝΤΙΑΑΚΙΔΟΥ.

*Reverse.* Two plumes waving over two conical caps or bee-hives? Monogram below  $\text{K}^{\text{z}}$ , and Pehlevi inscription  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭩𐭪𐭮𐭲𐭠𐭤𐭣𐭥𐭬𐭮𐭢𐭫𐭲}$ , or *matakáo ajalado atlikádo*, or *átikalikádo*?

LYSIUS.

*Fig. 12.*—A copper quadrangular coin of *LYSIVS*, similar to two in Masson's series of *AUSIVS*:—the first letter is clearly an *l*, in Greek, and this reading is confirmed by the Pehlevî 𐭥. The monograms are the same as in the last coin.

*Obverse.* Head of the king with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΥΣΙΟΥ.

Reverse. An elephant with a monogram ΑΣ, and the Pehleví inscription  
𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭥.....𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭥 *malakáo* ..... *lisato*.

Plate XXI.

I have designed in this plate from the Ventura collection several very interesting coins, of new names and features, for which no locality can as yet be assigned. As almost all of them bear Pehleví inscriptions, they are evidently Bactrian; but to admit them in the regular series of that dynasty, would greatly extend the catalogue of its princes. They rather bear out the fact of there having been several petty independent dynasties, like that at Nysa, for which Mr. Masson endeavours to set apart some of the coins to be presently mentioned.

## PHILOXENUS.

Fig. 1.—A fine silver coin of PHILOXENUS in the Ventura collection. This name was borne by one of ALEXANDER'S generals, to whom Cilicia, *west* of the Euphrates, was assigned in the division of his conquests. The coin, therefore, cannot belong to him, though his title of 'unconquered' would argue his power and warlike propensity.

*Obverse.* Head of the prince, in a helmet similar to that of EUCRATIDES, legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

*Reverse.* The prince on horseback; monogram formed of two Λ's: legend in Pehlevi 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥.

*Fig. 2.*—A square copper coin of the same prince, nearly allied to those of the last plate.

*Obverse.* A female figure holding the cornucopia. Greek legend, and monogram as before.

*Reverse.* The Brahmany bull, with the same Pehlevi legend, and the letter 𐭮 as a monogram.

#### ANTIMACHUS.

*Fig. 3.*—A small silver coin of ANTIMACHUS, also a new prince. The character of the horseman connects it with the preceding; the portrait of the prince is wanting, nor can I find any record of his name preserved.

*Obverse.* Victory or Fame: legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

*Reverse.* Horseman, and Pehlevi inscription 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮.

*Fig. 4.*—A copper coin recognized to belong to ANTIMACHUS, from the Pehlevi name. Vent.

#### NONUS.

*Fig. 5.*—A silver coin of NONUS, in the same style as the last, and without portrait. Vent.

*Obverse.* Horseman, with couched lance; scarf round the neck, part of the legend visible ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . . . . . ΝΩΝΟΥ.

*Reverse.* Soldier holding a spear; name in Pehlevi, 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮. . . . .

*Fig. 10.*—A square copper coin of the same prince, in which his title of *μεγαλου*, is apparent. The style of the copper coinage compared with the silver, in all the above, connects them with the MENANDER and APOLLODOTUS group.

#### Uncertain names.

*Fig. 6.*—The same as MASSON'S No. 44. The name is not visible in the Greek, and if restored from the *Pehlevi*, which is quite distinct, it is unintelligible, *ULITIZOU*: the titles are of a paramount sovereign: the Greek letters corrupted.

*Obverse.* The king holding a sceptre ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ.

*Reverse.* Jupiter seated in his chair. Pehlevi inscription 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮.

*Figs. 7, 8.*—The grandiloquent titles in these are the same as the last, and both, perhaps, on that account should be classed with the AZOS series, in the next two plates, which has invariably the title "the great king of kings."

*Fig. 9.*—This square copper coin has the precise style of the NONUS and the AZILISOS device.

*Obverse.* A horseman with couched lance: letters visible of the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΡΟΥ?

*Reverse.* A seated figure, probably Hercules. Pehlevi legend, though sharply cut, not intelligible 𐭮𐭮 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮.

*Fig. 11.*—The title 'King of Kings' is also visible on this coin, with the emblem of an elephant on the obverse. The king, seated on a couch, is placed on the reverse. No native legend is traceable.



if so, it will fix the date to the latter half of the third century. At any rate, it is fair to suppose that the system was copied from the Roman coins, to which many other circumstances of imitation may be traced; among these, the soldier trampling on his vanquished foe in *fig. 14*; and the radiated head of *fig. 26*, the coin without a name, which is connected with the rest of the series by the equestrian reverse, seems an imitation of the radiated crown of the Roman emperors of the same period.

*Plate XXII. figs. 1, 2, 3.*—Three coins of Azos, having on the *obverse*, a Brahmany bull, and on the *reverse*, a panther or lion. The monograms on all three differ: legends in Greek and Pehlevi as above described.

*Figs. 4, 5.*—On these the bull is placed with the Pehlevi on the *reverse*, while a well-formed elephant occupies the place of honor on the *obverse*.

*Figs. 6, 7, 8.*—In these the place of the elephant is taken by a Bactrian camel of two humps. No name is visible on any, but the Pehlevi word  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮}$  is plain on No. 8, and their general appearance allows us to class them with the foregoing coins of Azos.

*Fig. 9.*—Here a horseman, with couched spear, in a square or frame, occupies the *obverse*, and the bull again the *reverse*: the word *Azou* is distinct on both sides. The device and attitude of the horseman will be seen to link this series with the coins of *Nonos*, *Azilisos*, and others, that are as yet nameless.

*Figs. 10, 11.*—A figure seated on a chair, holding a cornucopia, marks the *obverse* of this variety; while on the *reverse*, we perceive a Hercules or Mercury. It was from *fig. 11*, (a coin presented by MOHAN LA'L to Dr. GRANT,) that I first discovered the name AZOR, afterwards traceable on so many others.

*Figs. 12, 13.*—The *obverse* of this variety affords important information, in the attitude of the seated prince. It plainly proves him to be oriental.

The scarf on the erect figure of the *reverse* is also peculiar. This coin accords with one depicted in the *Manikyāla* plate, vol. iii. pl. xxvi. *fig. 2*.

*Plate XXIII. fig. 14.*—Is one of six coins in the *Ventura* cabinet of the same type. The soldier trampling on a prostrate foe betokens some victory. The female figure on the *reverse*, enveloped in flowers, seems to point to some mythological metamorphosis. The name and titles are distinct.

*Figs. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.*—Are all closely allied, while they serve to explain *figs. 11, 12, and 15*, in the plate of Lieut. BURNES' coins, (J. A. S. vol. ii. p. 314,) and *figs. 30, 31, 32, 33, 45*, of MASSON'S fourth series, vol. iii. pl. x. They are for the most part of copper-plated, or billon, and in consequence well preserved; the single Pehlevi letters  $\eta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\phi$ , and  $\rho$  may be observed as monograms, besides the usual compounds. On 21 and 22, are the first indications of a fire altar.

*Fig. 22.*—This copper coin is the last on which the name Azos occurs, and although quite distinct in the Pehlevi, it is corrupt and illegible in the Greek. The device is similar to the preceding, with exception of a curious circular monogram, which will be found also on the coins of *Kadaphes* hereafter. MASSON'S *fig. 47*, is the same coin.

*Fig. 23.*—A very deeply cut coin, commences a new series, in which, the form of the Greek letters is materially changed. The legend is now





*Reverse.* Jupiter seated; his right hand extended. Monogram  $\text{ϡ}$ ; Pehleví legend  $\text{𐭮𐭠𐭮𐭥 𐭮𐭥𐭥 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥}$ , *malakáo rakako Ermayo*.

Mr. MASSON supposes HERMÆUS I. to have reigned at Nysa (hodie *Jelalabad*,) because one of the topes opened in that neighbourhood contained several of his coins; they have, however, been found in equal abundance in the Panjáb, and it will be safer in the present paucity of our knowledge to adhere to the general term "Bactrian," without attempting to subdivide the Greek dominion into the separate states, of which it probably consisted throughout the whole period of their rule.

#### UNADPHERRUS.

*Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8.*—Four coins of the prince made known to us by Mr. MASSON under the name of UNADPHERRUS. They are numerous, of rude fabric, and more clear on the Pehlevi than the Greek side. The device on all is the same, namely:

*Obverse.* A bearded head with diadem: inscription as made out from the combined specimens  $\text{ΒΑCΙΑΕΩC CΩTHΓC VNA□ΠΕPΓC V}$ :—in some the titles are in the nominative case.

*Reverse.* A winged figure of Victory holding out a chaplet or bow: Pehleví inscription  $\text{𐭮𐭠𐭮𐭥 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥}$ .

This may be rendered *malakáo fareto nanado*; or the last word may be  $\text{𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥}$  for  $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\pi\omicron\varsigma$ . If  $\text{𐭮}$  be *p* and  $\text{𐭥}$  *h*, we might convert the word letter for letter into *phero*; making *f* an *r*. The first half of the name  $\text{VNA□}$  or  $\text{VNAΔ}$  seems to be omitted in the Pehleví, unless *nanado* be intended for it; but then the title 'Saviour' will be wanting.

The only recorded name that at all approaches to this barbarous appellation is *Phraotes* or *Phrahates*, whom PHILOSTRATUS asserts to have reigned at Taxiles, south of the Indus, about the commencement of the Christian era. He was visited by APOLLONIUS TYANÆUS in his travels, who conversed with him in the Greek language. The execution of the coins before us, does not well agree with the magnificence and elegance of PHRAOTES' court, as described by PHILOSTRATUS, "the residence of dignified virtue and sublime philosophy\*;" but much allowance may be made for exaggeration. The Bactrian sway was already broken, and the country in a disturbed state. "Whether Parthian or Indian, PHRAOTES was tributary to the Southern Scythians, whom he gladly subsidized to defend him against the more savage Huns, who finally drove before them the Scythians, who had seized upon the Bactrian kingdom†." APOLLONIUS describes a magnificent temple of the sun at Taxiles. The fact, frequently mentioned in history, of the native princes of *India* conversing and

\* Maurice's Modern Hindostan, I. 152.

† Ditto, I., 142.



disuse of the Pehleví character, which extends no further than to the first coinage of the series, namely, that of KADPHISES, with the bull reverse ; and is quite illegible there, while the Greek is comparatively distinct. This group has, however, been sufficiently described in my former papers.

Before closing my present notice, I must use my privilege of amending the theory I advanced upon one of the coins from the Manikyála tope, (Vol. III, *Pl. XXV, fig. 6*, p. 441,) a Sassanian coin bearing the distinct Sanscrit name of *Sri Vásu Deva*. This being the patronymic of KRISHNA, I supposed the figure to represent that god as the Indian substitute for Mithra or  $\text{ΜΗΙΟΣ}$ . The face, however, was that of an aged human being, and I think it may be more rationally accounted for as such, on the following grounds.

Ferishta asserts that BASDEO had assumed the throue of Canouj in the year 330, A. D. ; that BAHRAM the Persian king, was at his court in disguise, and was recognized by the nobleman who had taken *tribute to Persia* from the Indian king\*. BASDEO reigned 80 years, and one of his daughters was married to BAHRAM. Now under these circumstances, it is natural to suppose, that the Sassanian monarch, out of compliment, may have affixed his father-in-law's portrait and name on some of his own coin : and the strongest evidence is thus afforded both of the historical fact, and of the date of this individual coin of the Manikyála set.

*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society.*

*Wednesday Evening, July 1, 1835.*

The Honorable Sir EDWARD RYAN, President, in the chair.

The Proceedings of the last Meeting were read.

The following gentlemen, Messrs. J. P. GRANT, WM. ADAM, W. H. BENSON, GEORGE EVANS, Lieut. A. S. PHAYRE, Mr. J. H. STOQUELER, Capt. J. G. TAYLOR, Mad. Cav. and Lieut. MONTRIOU, I. N. proposed at the last meeting, were balloted for, and duly elected members of the Society.

The Secretary read the following reply from Government to the memorial presented, in conformity with the resolution of the last meeting.

To the Honorable Sir EDWARD RYAN, Knt.

*Genl. Dept.*

*President of the Asiatic Society.*

HONORABLE SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of an address, dated 3rd instant, transmitted by you to the Governor General in Council, on behalf of the Asiatic Society.

2. I am directed in reply to forward to you a copy of orders issued by the Supreme Government, on the 7th March, to the Committee of Public Instruction, which will make the Society acquainted with the views and

\* Maurice, I., 150.



intentions of the Government, on the general question discussed in your address.

3. With respect to the specific requests and recommendations contained in the address, I am desired to state as follows :

4. The Government has no intention of soliciting from the Court of Directors any specific pecuniary aid, to be appropriated exclusively to the support of native literature, beyond the sums already devoted to that object, in conjunction with the encouragement of English literature. Its reluctance to take this step is not influenced by any doubt that larger sums might be beneficially appropriated to both these objects ; but by that financial difficulty which necessarily limits within narrow bounds the aid to be so afforded.

5. The Government having resolved to discontinue, with some exceptions, the printing of the projected editions of Oriental works, a great portion of the limited Education Fund having hitherto been expended on similar publications to little purpose but to accumulate stores of waste paper, cannot furnish pecuniary aid to the Society, for the further printing of those works, but will gladly make over the parts already printed, either to the Asiatic Society, or to any Society or individuals, who may be disposed to complete the publication at their own expense.

6. The Government has the highest respect for the Asiatic Society, and the valuable and laudable pursuits in which it is engaged ; but must nevertheless consider the Committee of Public Instruction as the appropriate organ for dispensing the patronage bestowed by the Government on Oriental studies, from which, as justly supposed by the Society, it is not the intention of the Government to withdraw its support.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*Council Chamber,*  
*the 10th June, 1835. }*

(Signed) G. A. BUSHBY,  
*Secretary to Government.*

*Copy of orders issued to the Committee of Public Instruction, 7th March, 1835.*

“The Governor General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to, in them.

“His Lordship in Council is of opinion, that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

“But it is not the intention of His Lordship in Council to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords ; and His Lordship in Council directs, that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies, and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student who may hereafter enter at any of these institu-

tions ; and that, when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

"It has come to the knowledge of the Governor General in Council, that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs, that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

"His Lordship in Council directs, that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language ; and His Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose."

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The Secretary hoped he might be allowed to make a few observations on the reply of Government, in consideration of his having been the first to bring the subject of the abandoned publications to the notice of the Society, and to suggest the propriety of its intercession. The warmth with which his proposal had been met by the friends of Oriental literature within and without these walls, and the confidence of some aid from Government for such an object had, he confessed, made him a little sanguine, and had led him to look beyond the sole object of completing the several works actually commenced, to the organization of an Oriental Committee, for extending the benefits of publication to the whole series of classical authors, as had been once intended by the Committee of Instruction ;—to include also the nucleus of Baudhdha literature, selected by Mr. HODGSON, and the astronomical works recommended by Mr. WILKINSON. But the pleasing dream had now vanished ; the reply of Government was before them, and, though none could witness the issue with greater regret than himself—none could bow more submissively to its decree. There was however a passage in the reply, which raised his hopes and encouraged him to make one more effort in the cause ; this was the offer to transfer to any Society the whole of the matter already printed, provided it would engage to complete the works. Considering the light in which they were held by Government, "as a mere accumulation of waste paper," it was hardly liberal to couple the offer with such terms ; but still he was prepared to recommend to the Society to accept even these conditions. He had made careful estimates of the expences of completing all the works : the Printers had liberally consented to reduce their rates ; the pandits and maulavis had volunteered their gratuitous aid for an object so dear to them ; and in short he would venture, from the prospect of sales, and of subscriptions for copies from Europeans and Natives of rank, to guarantee the Society from any risk of involving its funds by the acceptance of the Government offer. The Secretary then moved a resolution, which we give in the altered form in which it was finally adopted. The resolution was seconded by Mr. COLVIN :—

"*Resolved*—That with reference to the 5th paragraph of Mr. Secretary BUSHBY's letter, the Society feels disposed to accept the offer of Government to transfer the printed portion of the several Oriental works now in progress to the Asiatic Society, and it entertains a reasonable hope of being able to complete the whole of them without involving any material charge on its funds ; but that the

Society should request the Government to withdraw the exception alluded to the Secretary's letter, and to make over the whole of the publications lately in progress at the Education Press. And that the President be requested to address the Governor General in Council, on the subject."

The proposition, as at first worded, applied the epithet "*liberal*" to the "offer of Government," and accepted the offer, "with the exception of the works reserved." It also bound the Society to complete all the works they took over. In the conversation that ensued, the Secretary stated, that much misapprehension existed as to the amount expended by Government upon Oriental literature. He had ascertained, that in the whole ten years, since the publication of such works was commenced, no more than 60,000 Rupees had been devoted to that object; in fact, it was not so much, for this had been the whole charge for printing, and included translations of English works into the native languages. All the charges for translating, for care of the depository, &c. must be considered as part of the expenditure *on education*, with which the Society had no concern.

Mr. MACNAGHTEN thought it needless to bind themselves to complete the works, as Government required no such pledge. He would merely express a disposition to complete the publications.

Mr. TURTON asked what works were excepted by Government. The Secretary said, there were two; the *Fatâwa Alemgiri*, and a Treatise on Spherical Trigonometry, in Arabic.

Sir JOHN P. GRANT thought this did not sufficiently appear, and moved an amendment (seconded by Captain FORBES) to the effect, that Government should be requested to specify what works they intended to except.

Mr. BUSHBY gave his private opinion, that the Society would be permitted to take over the whole, without exception, if they desired it. Mr. TURTON pressed the point. Mr. MACNAGHTEN expressed his opinion, that we should ask for all the unfinished publications. The President thought the proposed reference for further information unnecessary, for they had it before them—the amendment would have the effect of asking for the two works excepted.

After some further conversation, it appearing to be the general wish that Government should be asked to transfer all the unfinished works without exception, Sir J. P. GRANT withdrew his amendment, and the original motion was modified accordingly.

Mr. TURTON wished the word *liberal* omitted. He could not consider the offer of what the Government looked upon as "mere waste paper," a *liberal* offer. The term might be misconstrued, and it was disrespectful to use a word that seemed to be introduced by way of irony. This opinion being assented to all round, the word was taken out, and the resolution was put as above, and carried unanimously.

Mr. MACNAGHTEN then proposed that a letter, becoming the dignity of the Society, in terms respectful to Government, abstaining from any bitter reflections, should be written to the Royal Asiatic Society at Home, forwarding copies of the correspondence with Government. This it was incumbent upon them to do in testimony of their zeal for Oriental literature. He moved accordingly—

"That a copy of the correspondence be sent to the Royal Asiatic Society, in order to show that this Society has not been deficient in zeal in the cause of Oriental literature, as well as in order to engage the support of that powerful body to the cause which this Society has so strenuously but so unsuccessfully endeavoured to uphold."

The Secretary said, there was another reason for doing so, in the assistance they might hope to obtain from the London Society, in promoting subscriptions for copies of the works; and perhaps also in direct aid of their funds from the Oriental Translation Branch of that Society, which must be interested in the same object. He therefore seconded the resolution.

Mr. TURTON wished, before the resolution was put, to say a few words, explanatory of the grounds on which he supported it, differing as he did in some degree on one point, appearing in the correspondence which had taken place, from those whose views in general he fully adopted, and was most anxious to promote. But thinking the object which they had in view one of the utmost importance, he was desirous that it should not be put upon any assumption of right which could not be maintained, especially when it was to be urged to the home authorities. He alluded to the opinions expressed by some of his friends, that the Government were bound by the act of Parliament to appropriate a certain proportion of the funds devoted to literary purposes to the cultivation of native literature, and the native languages, and had no right to withdraw the sums hitherto appropriated through the Education Committee to that purpose. It appeared to him, that this was a misconception, and he should be sorry to see a right set up which could not be maintained; whilst, on the other hand, he would not ask as a favor that which was founded on right. He held in his hands the words of the clause in the Act of Parliament upon which this question depended, the Act 53 Geo. III. c. 155, s. 43, and with the leave of the Society he would read it.

After reading the clause Mr. TURTON continued,

That, setting aside the question, whether Government were bound to appropriate any funds to this purpose at present, it being extremely doubtful whether there was the surplus out of which the fund were to be provided; it appeared to him that the fair construction of the clause which he had read, was to leave the whole discretion of the application of the fund to the local Government. The legislature pointed out the objects of encouragement. In his judgment, it evidently contemplated both Oriental and European literature: but the extent, the time, and the manner in which the one or the other, or both, should receive such encouragement, was, in his opinion, left to the local Government to determine; and if they thought fit to withdraw from the Society the funds which they had hitherto appropriated to Oriental learning, and to appropriate it to the cultivation of English literature and sciences, which had hitherto been wholly neglected, the Society, in his judgment, had no *right* to stand up for. He was also of opinion, with regard to the exercise of its patronage, that the Government were correct. The Education Committee doubtless was the proper channel for the distribution of their funds, entertaining the views which the Government now had. This was a private Society, over which they could exercise no controul; whilst the Education Committee were entirely subject to the directions of Government. But at the same time he thought the Society deserving of some consideration, more than at present the Government seemed disposed to accord.

They were embodied many years before the attention of Government was directed by the legislature to these important objects, and they had steadily pursued their purpose, and expended considerable sums, raised by mere private contribution, on Asiatic Literature and subjects connected with it. It was peculiarly within the province of the Society to represent to the home authorities the error,



into which, in the judgment of the Society, the Government had fallen. He was satisfied, that the very object which the Government had in view, and in which he (Mr. TURTON) most cordially concurred—introduction of the English language, literature, and sciences—would be greatly defeated, or at least retarded, by creating an impression, which the withdrawal of these funds would create, that they wished to discourage,—at least, were indifferent to, the literature of the East, and the ancient languages of the country. He wished to see the two objects united, and was satisfied, that English literature would be more readily introduced, by going hand in hand with that to which learned natives were naturally more attached. The latter was peculiarly within the province of the Society to protect and guard. We had assumed a trust which we must not betray, and when we saw the interests of that literature of which we were the voluntary guardians injuriously affected, and, as we thought, injudiciously attacked, it was our duty not to slumber at the post which we had taken upon ourselves to watch and to defend.

Mr. PRINSEP agreed in much that had fallen from his friend who had just spoken; but Mr. TURTON, not having been present at the last meeting, had mistaken the views of the Society: they had never insisted on an exclusive application of the Parliamentary vote to Oriental literature. But it was impossible to construe the words “revival of literature” otherwise than as intended to embrace Oriental literature—the only literature that could be *revived*. There was another clause perhaps more important still, providing for English science; the Society’s business was only with the first. The withdrawing of the minute fraction of the fund devoted to this object, which he must attribute to the Education Committee, was an insult to the natives of India. The laws of the country, as well as its theology and history, were in those languages, and in those books which it was now attempted to suppress. It was not unlikely that the natives might be stimulated by this proceeding to do themselves what it was our duty as their guardians to do for them; but the reputation of the British Government would suffer. Civilization and general information would never be spread through this vast country by English education. Did ever a Government succeed in so wild a project as to change the language of the country? Russia has set us a very different example: she is making rapid strides in civilization by translations into her own language. There was indeed one notable instance in the attempt of Christophe, the late Emperor of Haiti, to extinguish the French idiom, and introduce English in its place—and his mad experiment and himself had fallen together. The literature of the West must be transferred into the native languages, and the first step towards this must be the cultivation and improvement of those languages themselves. He believed Mr. TURTON’s opinions were in accordance with his own; but he wished to go further than the proposition before them, and should therefore follow it up with a motion for a Memorial to the Authorities at Home.

Mr. TURTON explained.

Mr. COLVIN was grateful for Mr. TURTON’s clear exposition of the point of law, but did not see the object of the present discussion. The question before them regarded an address to the Royal Asiatic Society, which had his cordial support. But Mr. PRINSEP’s attack in a censorial tone and language not over measured, had been directed against another body, which had no representatives or defenders in this place. The question to which he had referred was one of the highest im-

portance, and all parties would unite, for the sake of that truth which was their common object, in desiring to see it become a subject of general interest and discussion. But this was not the scene which Mr. PRINSEP should have chosen for any criticisms on the proceedings of the Education Committee. "*Cur in theatrum Cato severe venisti?*" The debate here was totally out of place and character. Mr. TURTON had said, that it was proper to pay respect and attention to Native feeling: who ever held a contrary opinion? It was not he alone who said it—*non meus hic sermo*,—but there was the declaration of Government in the Resolution of the 7th March, that *while the Natives themselves desired it, Instruction in Oriental Learning would be continued*. Were Gentlemen to carry their patronage of that course of tuition beyond even the wishes of the Natives? It seemed to him that there remained but little ground of difference between them. It had happened in this as in other cases,

"When hot dispute had past  
They found their tenets much the same at last."

He would readily support Mr. MACNAGHTEN'S resolution—which was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. PRINSEP, after a few words of preface, moved the appointment of a Committee to Memorialize the Court of Directors and Board of Control. An amendment was proposed by Mr. W. GRANT, who would modify the wording of the resolution to secure unanimity. He wished to disconnect the proceedings from the disputes to which the allusion had been made, which the Society need not notice. This drew forth some remarks from Sir EDWARD RYAN, who expressed his full concurrence in the object aimed at, but objected to certain expressions in Mr. PRINSEP'S motion, as conveying a censure upon the Government, and a declaration on the legal point. His desire was to adopt the most conciliatory and most effectual means of attaining the end.

Mr. COLVIN would agree to Mr. W. GRANT'S amendment, and hoped the members would come to an unanimous vote on this question, as they had done on the others. There would thus be an end to the unnecessary discussions which here and elsewhere had been carried on *usque ad nauseam*.

Mr. TURTON also liked unanimity, but would not seek it at too great a sacrifice: he would not blink the question. We must tell the Government at home, why we go to them. Mr. COLVIN'S unanimity was good in its way, but for himself he liked consistency. "In another place (says Mr. COLVIN), I am decidedly of a different opinion, but let us be unanimous here." This sort of consistency he did not understand. There were societies at home which supported Scotch literature, Welch literature, Irish literature; and why should we consider the ancient literature of India less dear to the natives of this country? To proceed as the Government are doing is to make them think we have only our own interested objects in view.

Mr. COLVIN explained. He had ever been a friend to all descriptions of literary pursuit, and he was a friend to Oriental literature, and could support it as a member of this Society, without compromising his opinions regarding the best plan for the education of youth, a subject of which it was quite beyond the province of the Society to take any cognizance.

The amendment was then re-modelled, and being re-moved by Mr. W. GRANT, and seconded by Mr. TURTON, was unanimously adopted as follows:

“That it be referred to a Committee to prepare a Memorial from this Society to the Court of Directors and Board of Control, stating that Government here have withdrawn the funds hitherto appropriated to the revival of Oriental literature in this country,—and respectfully impressing upon the authorities at home, the importance of having some public funds appropriated to this purpose, and requesting them to adopt such means as they think fit for providing a sufficient sum for this important object.”

The following Gentlemen were named as the Committee : Dr. MILL, Mr. MAC-NAGHTEN, Mr. TURTON, Mr. WM. GRANT, Mr. COLVIN, and Mr. PRINSEP,

*Library.*

Read a letter from Professor H. H. WILSON, forwarding, on behalf of Counsellor VON HAMMER, a copy of his translation and text of the work entitled, “Samachscharis Goldene Halsbande,” or the Golden Collar of Samaschari, for presentation to the Society.

Read a letter from J. G. MALCOLMSON, Esq. Secretary to the Medical Board at Madras, transmitting a copy of his publication, called “Essay on the History and Treatment of Beriberi,” for presentation to the Society.

Read a letter from Colonel W. CASEMENT, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, forwarding on behalf of the Government of Fort. St. George, a second volume of Result of Astronomical Observations made at the Madras Observatory, by T. G. TAYLOR., Esq. H. C. Astronomer, during the years 1832 and 1833.

Also a letter from Mr. EDWARD WALPOLE, to the President, presenting for the Society's Library, a set of Reports and Plans of the Boundary Commissioners under the Reform Bill, from the library of his brother, the late RICHARD WALPOLE, Esq. long a Member of the Society.

A copy of Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, translated from the Original Sanscrit, by Professor H. H. WILSON, Second Edition, presented to the Society by the Translator.

Meteorological Register for May, 1835, by the Surveyor General.

Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia, England, vol. iv. was received from the Booksellers.

*Museum.*

A Stuffed Alligator, measuring about 11 feet, and the head and horns of a Buffalo, were presented by Lieut. ROBERT C. NUTHALL.

Specimens of Gold Dust from the Streams of the lower range ; also, three more ancient Coins from the ruins at Behat, were presented by Captain CAUTLEY.

A Portrait of the late R. HOME, Esq. was presented by his pupil Mr. A. GREGORY, to be added to the gallery of pictures lately deposited in the Society's rooms by the sons of that eminent artist.

Mr. GREGORY also submitted a short eulogium on his deceased master.

*Papers submitted.*

Dr. J. McCLELLAND presented a manuscript volume on the Geology, Natural History, and Climate of the province of Kemaon ; illustrated by a large geological map, and sections of the whole mountainous district, for most part filled in from his own surveys and examination.

[The manuscript was subsequently withdrawn by the author, for separate publication.]

Observations on Organic Fossil appearances of a peculiar nature found in Kemaon, by the same author, were also submitted.

### VIII.—*Miscellaneous.*

#### 1. *Proposal to publish, by Subscription, an Illustrated Work on the Zoology of Nipd.*

It is impossible to advert to the perishable, varying, and complex phenomena of animation, without a deep impression of the disadvantages under which zoological research, has heretofore been conducted, from an almost total disunion of opportunity, and of the skill to make a proper use of it. Mineralogy, and even Botany, may be easily and effectually prosecuted through the medium of materials collected in one country, and used in another and remote one; because these materials are subject to no, or to small deterioration; because their bulk is limited, and their character fixed. Hence probably the rapid progress of these sciences, owing to the ample and effectual means of illustrating them which the learned of Europe have been able to draw from all quarters of the world. The case is very different in regard to Zoology. The transport to Europe of live animals, even birds, is difficult and expensive: the observation of habits, manners, and economy can only be made on the spot, with the advantage (never possessed by travelling collectors) of much time and recurring opportunity: the characteristic form and corporeal habits of animals vanish from the dried specimen, which besides can tell little or nothing truly of those numerous changes to which the living individual is subject from age, from sex, and from season: lastly, it is not possible without *abundance of fresh* specimens, continuously supplied and used without delay, either to fix the real external character of species amid the changes just adverted to, or to ascertain, even summarily, their internal structure.

True it is, that from the external conformation of the hard and imperishable parts of dried animal specimens, that of the internal and untransportable parts may be *inferred*: true it is, that from the unknown genus or family, the unknown figure may be *conjectured*. But who that has been never so little imbued with the Baconian principles of investigation will be content to substitute analogical induction for plain fact, when the latter is accessible? and who that has turned his attention never so slightly to works of natural history, is unaware that this inductive process has resulted too often in monstrous disfiguration of the forms of animals, and in serious errors relative to their internal structure, habits, and economy? The scientific men of Europe have made the best use possible of their miserably defective materials: but they are precisely the persons who deplore the defect of those materials, and its necessary consequences, viz. the multiplication of imaginary species, and the continuance of a wretched system of arrangement, calling every year more imperatively for revision, and yet incapable of being remoulded, without a knowledge of the internal, as well as external, structure, the habits, and economy, as well as true forms, of the actual species, in their mature and perfect development.

A gentleman who has been, for some years past, fixed in a favorable situation for observing nature, with more leisure than usually falls to the lot of the



servants of Government in India, has amused himself by the formation of a large stock of drawings and notes, calculated to illustrate the Zoology of the district in which he resides : and he proposes by placing these drawings and notes in the hands of some true minister and interpreter of nature at home ; and by establishing a system of reference between such an one and himself, to complete his observations, during the next two or three years, under the guidance and counsel of ripe science. The object of this gentleman is not to exhibit himself as a Zoologist, which he is not ; but to aid Zoology, by *marrying opportunity to skill*—a project which he has means of accomplishing to an extent not hitherto attained, nor likely to be attempted by others, with his advantages for its successful attainment. It is not pretended, that the gentleman in question has means or ability to supply the European master of the subject, with a title of the information, the want and necessity for which have been above adverted to. But it is affirmed, that the author of this paper (the more immediate purpose of which will be presently explained) *has* such power and will to do away with the divorce of opportunity from the ability to make the best use of it, as are not likely soon to recur ; such power and will, as cannot fail to be highly efficient, is put in action in the manner he proposes, in partially removing the obstacles heretofore resulting from that divorce. The series of drawings is now nearly complete, and embraces several hundreds of subjects, each of which has been compared with several fresh specimens, in order to fix the perfect aspect of maturity in the species with such variations, caused by femininity or nonage, as it seemed desirable to delineate. The notes include many particulars of internal structure, habits, and economy, of every subject portrayed by the pencil ; and it is believed, with reason, that if these materials were put into the hands of an experienced Zoologist in Europe, under whose suggestions their differences might be remedied by further observation and dissection, the result of such a conjoint plan must be to pour a flood of light upon the zoological treasures of one of the most fertile regions of India.

Some inquiries have already been made touching the feasibility of such conjoint labours ; and the answers, from the highest quarters, encourage the notion of it, except only in the article of expense, in reference to the drawings ; the publication of which, without the aid of subscription, it is apprehended might mar an otherwise most hopeful plan.

Hinc illæ lachrymæ ! Hence this proposal, which is intended to solicit the aid of such gentlemen in and out of the service, as are disposed to favour the project by subscription to the work.

Specimens of the drawings may be seen, at the Asiatic Society's rooms.

The amount of subscription will be fixed so soon as there appears to be a prospect of realizing the object of it : and to ascertain that point, all those who are inclined to patronise the work are requested to send their names to the Secretary of that Society.

## 2. *Proposed Meteorological Combination in Southern Africa.*

We are indebted to Sir JOHN HERSCHEL, for a copy of the printed instructions for registering meteorological observations at various stations in Africa, and in the South Seas, drawn up by a Committee of the South African Philosophical Institution.

This eminent philosopher has, we doubt not, been the prime mover of this important plan for obtaining a connected view of the winds and weather in the

hitherto unexplored region of the southern hemisphere. It is what we have been attempting to do for India, and not without success, although we have hitherto avoided publishing the many registers with which we have been favored, until they could be put together in a convenient form for comparison and analysis. There will be a double advantage in having a counter-series south of the line, for Sir JOHN had already announced to us the discovery, on comparison of the tables given in our JOURNAL, with a series of 57 months kept by the Post Master at the Cape, that the annual fluctuation in the Barometric tide there, having regard to the difference of latitude, is precisely *complementary* to ours: that it amounts to 0.29 inch, on an average of the whole period; the *maximum* taking place about the 21st July, and the *minimum* about the 19th January: "thus in the latter month when the Barometer in Calcutta stands 0.25 inch higher than the mean, and that at the Cape, 0.15 lower—a propellant force equal to the weight of a column of mercury, 0.4 inch, urges steadily and constantly the air towards the south, and vice versa; nor can its influence be confined to small tracts, but from its very magnitude and nature, it must communicate motion to immense masses of air." When a master hand approaches the ordinary, yet complicated subject of winds and weather, general results of great practical utility and importance are sure of development. Their appearance in the field should not however discourage other labourers, but rather stimulate their investigations: each separate branch of inquiry is in this science so laborious, as more than to occupy one head. The influence of the sun, of the moon, of oceanic coasts, of mountain ranges, are all separate questions of great intricacy.

The principal difficulty is to provide, that observers shall all note down on the same days and hours: we observe sun-rise, noon, sun-set, and midnight, recommended at the Cape, also 8 A. M., 2 P. M., and 8 P. M. Now the knowledge of the hours of maximum and minimum has made us prefer 10 A. M. and 4 P. M., 10 P. M. and 4 A. M.; but in our own and the Surveyor General's series, we have enough points to fill up the whole daily curve of temperature and pressure for Calcutta. With regard to this essential point, we have been requested to call the attention of our meteorologists in India, Ceylon, the Straits, and Chiua, to the following determination of the Cape Committee, to devote four days of the year to horary observations.

"With a view, however, to the better determining the laws of the diurnal changes taking place in the atmosphere, and to the obtaining a knowledge of the correspondence of its movements and affections over great regions of the earth's surface, or even over the whole globe, the Committee have resolved to recommend, that four days in each year should henceforward be especially set apart by meteorologists in every part of the world, and devoted to a most scrupulous and accurate registry of the state of the Barometer and Thermometer; the direction and force of the wind; the quantity, character, and distribution of clouds; and every other particular of weather, throughout the whole twenty-four hours of those days, and the adjoining six hours of the days preceding and following\*.

\* This is necessary by reason of the want of coincidence of *the day* in different parts of the globe, arising from difference of longitude. In order to obtain a complete correspondence of observation for 24 successive hours over the whole globe, it must be taken into account that opposite longitudes differ 12 hours in their reckoning of time. By the arrangement in the text, the whole of the *astronomical day* (from noon to noon) is embraced in each series, and no observer is required to watch two nights in succession.

The days they have been induced to fix on and recommend for these observations are, the 21st of March, the 21st June, the 21st September, and the 21st December, being those of or immediately adjoining to those of the equinoxes and solstices, in which the solar influence is either stationary or in a state of most rapid variation. *But should any one of those 21st days fall on Sunday, then it will be understood, that the observations are to be deferred till the next day, the 22nd.* The observation at each station should commence at 6 o'clock A. M. of the appointed days, and terminate at 6 o'clock P. M. of the days following, according to the usual reckoning of time at the place. During this interval, the Barometer and Thermometer should be read off and registered hourly, or at all events, at intervals not more than two hours asunder; and the precise hour and minute of each reading should be especially noted.

For obvious reasons, however, the commencement of every hour should, if practicable, be chosen; and every such series of observations should be accompanied by a notice of the means used to obtain the time, and when practicable, by some observation of an astronomical nature, by which the time can be independently ascertained within a minute or two\*. As there is scarcely any class of observations by which meteorology can be more extensively and essentially promoted, it is hoped that not only at every station of importance in this colony, but over the whole world, and on board ships in every part of the ocean, individuals will be found to co-operate in this inquiry. Every communication of such observations, addressed by channels as secure and as little expensive as possible to the Secretary of this Institution, will be considered as highly valuable."

### 3.—Statistics and Geology of Kemaon.

We perceive by our advertisement page, that Dr. J. McCLELLAND is about to publish, by subscription, his Observations on the Statistics of Kemaon; embracing an account of the Rocks, Minerals, and Mines, Organic Fossils, Waters, Population, Wild Animals, Birds, and Insects of the province. Together with Observations on the Goitre, on Earthquakes, and Climatology. The whole including a Geological Map and Section of the district, with various other drawings, coloured.

Mr. McCLELLAND is appointed to join Dr. WALLICH in his approaching trip to explore the Tea Districts eastward of Assam. The expedition has also the advantage of an able second Botanist in Dr. GRIFFITHS, Mad. Med. Est., and as it will meet Captain JENKINS in the valley, its geological strength will have nothing to desire. But we confess we think an Astronomer, or at least a Surveyor acquainted with Astronomy should be added, to make the scientific corps perfect—to note the position of the new points they will visit, and to sketch some of its glorious features. When the British Government sends a party to set up Steam Boats on the Euphrates, every adjunct of science, language, and art is superadded: why should the Government of British India be less efficient in their preparations for so interesting and profitable a voyage of discovery?

\* For example, the first appearances and last disappearances of the sun's upper and lower border, above and below the sea horizon, if at sea or on the coast,—or, on land, the exact length of the shadow of a vertical object of determinate length on an horizontal level, at a precise moment of time (not too near noon), &c.

*Meteorological Register, kept at the Assay Office, Calcutta, for the Month of June, 1835.*

Day of the Month.	Observations at 10 A. M.						Observations at 4 P. M.						Register Thermometer Extremes.		Wind.		Weather.			
	Standard Barometer at 32°.	Wet Baro- meter, do.	Aqs. Ten. deduced.	Thermome- ter in air.	Dif. on M.	Leslie's Dif. Hygrom.	Hair Hy- grometer.	Standard Bar. at 32°.	Wet Bar. at do.	Aqs. Ten. deduced.	Thermome- ter in air.	Different.	Leslie's Dif. Hygrom.	Hair Hy- grometer.	Cold on roof.	Heat in sun.	Rain.	Morning.	10 A. M.	4 P. M.
1	29.580	29.266	1.322	86.0	6.7	3.7	92	29.471	.083	1.308	89.8	7.6	7.9	90	75.6	118.9	0.05	clear.	fine.	sw.
2	598			86.4	5.9	2.5	92	29.400	.073	1.410	92.3	10.2	10.4	85	78.3	127.5		do	do	sw.
3	630	29.234	1.306	89.8	5.9	2.5	94	29.523	.126	1.402	92.0	9.6	9.9	84	82.0	110.3		do	do	se.
4	612	29.220	1.303	90.0	8.0	2.4	88	29.613	.048	1.465	92.5	11.6	11.4	84	79.8	118.9		do	do	se.
5	719	31.2	1.407	86.1	8.4	8.7	89	29.556	.066	1.400	92.7	12.0	12.4	84	78.3	116.1		do	do	se.
6	755			86.1	7.5	5.9	89	29.619		1.400	92.0				77.0	134.2		cum. str.	cum.	S.
7	700			87.0	6.4	6.2	89	29.501	.046	1.422	91.6	11.1	11.3	86	74.0	135.0		cumuli.	hazy.	sw.
8	648	29.248	1.378	89.3	7.5	7.6	89	29.468	.134	1.383	91.1	8.0	9.1	88	79.0	117.0	2.60	hard rn.	drizzle.	sw.
9	626	29.248	1.378	89.3	7.5	7.6	89	29.527	.057	1.383	91.1	8.0	9.1	88	79.0	122.0		scud.	clear.	se.
10	635	29.286		89.3	6.7	6.0	89	29.557		87.5				77.0	126.0		cumuli.	do	S.	
11	649	29.296	1.363	89.7	6.7	6.0	89	29.546	.106	1.430	91.3	8.9	8.5	88	77.0	123.0		do	do	S.
12	583	29.174	1.314	88.7	4.6		89	29.468	.078	1.490	92.1	10.0	10.3	84	78.0	123.0		do	do	sw.
13	493			82.5				29.474	.208	1.176	86.9	7.5	7.7	89	74.0	123.0	0.65	haze.	rain	sw.
14	562	29.346	1.216	85.4	6.6		89	29.420		89.8				74.0	105.0	2.20	o.	threatening.	do	o.
15	571	29.348	1.223	85.9	5.8	4.7	91	29.478	.138	1.290	87.1	5.4	6.2	89	70.0	105.0		hazy.	overcast.	sw.
16	549	29.346	1.203	85.7	4.6	1.0	91	29.464	.148	1.316	88.3	8.6	9.0	88	76.2	107.2		curri.	cum. str.	sw.
17	560	29.348	1.212	86.4	4.7	1.2	91	29.489	.202	1.293	87.4	6.0	6.5	91	77.8	95.2	0.10	hd. rain.	drizzle.	ne.
18	608	29.380	1.179	86.1	5.3	1.3	91	29.536	.266	1.274	87.3	3.7	4.7	91	77.8	93.2	0.50	cumuli.	fine.	S.
19	570	29.321	1.178	86.0	6.3	5.4	91	29.572	.304	1.230	86.7	5.0	5.7	91	77.0	90.5	0.15	hazy.	do	se.
20	570	29.321	1.178	86.0	6.3	5.4	91	29.527	.258	1.229	86.5	4.7	5.1	91	76.7	103.0	0.10	do	do	sw.
21	622			83.1	7.8			29.411		1.229	86.5	4.7	5.1	91	76.7	103.0		overcast.	do	sw.
22	478	29.240	1.238	86.1	4.8	4.3	91	29.372	.170	1.202	86.1	3.6	4.4	91	77.2	94.6		do	do	sw.
23	410	29.322	1.088	83.7	2.8	2.6	91	29.389	.292	1.097	83.8	2.6	3.5	91	74.5	100.0	1.50	sett. rain.	rain.	sw.
24	479	29.334	1.145	83.9	4.5	3.8	91	29.388	.100	1.403	85.9	4.3	4.7	91	74.5	100.0	1.30	hazy.	rain.	sw.
25	410	29.299	1.111	84.3	4.0	3.6	91	29.327	.166	1.131	84.7	3.4	3.5	92	74.5	100.0	1.50	do	do	sw.
26	426	29.681	1.128	84.7	3.4	3.0	92	29.358	.220	1.138	85.0	3.1	3.8	92	74.5	100.0	1.50	hazy.	do	sw.
27	489	29.346	1.143	83.7	5.5	4.4	92	29.366	.265	1.034	83.9	4.2	5.3	92	74.5	100.0	1.50	do	do	sw.
28	483			80.3	3.0			29.411		81.5	8.0	7.7		92	74.5	100.0	1.50	rain.	do	sw.
29	516	29.400	1.110	83.8	3.3	3.0	91	29.368	.292	1.076	83.5	2.7	2.9	92	74.5	100.0	1.50	do	do	sw.
30	500	29.328	1.072	83.2	3.3	2.5	92	29.412	.266	1.126	84.0	3.0	3.0	92	76	87.5	0.40	cloudy.	do	sw.
Mean	29.561	29.311	1.240	86.1	5.6	3.8	90.7	29.430	.179	1.202	87.4	6.9	7.0	89	76.7	110.2	1.50	variable.	rain.	moderate.

Instruments the same, and situated as usual. It should be noted, that the Thermometer by which the temperature is registered this year, has been fast attached to the Barometer, that the aqueous trunks might agree with it; this instrument being against a wall in the laboratory differs a degree or two being higher in the morning and lower at 4 p. m.) than the Thermometer suspended in mid air, but the average agrees therewith.



Power of letters	Hebrew or Chaldaic	Syrio-persic Zend of Sassanian Inscriptions according to Lichtenstein ditto from Ker Porter	Pehlevi of Inscriptions corrected from Ker Porter	Pehlevi of Sass. Coins from actual Coins from Marsdens Num. Gr.	Bactrian Pehlevi from Bactrian and Indoscythic Coins from Cabul the Panjab &c	Bactrian Pehlevi from the Writings on the Cylinders found in the Topes or Tumuli in the Panjab &c	Zend Alphabet according to Burnouf's Commentaire Sur le Yaçna.
A	א	𐬀 𐬁	𐬀	𐬀 𐬁 𐬂	𐬀? 𐬁 (see a')		𐬀 𐬁 𐬂 a
B	ב	𐬂 𐬃	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂 𐬃 𐬄	𐬂 𐬃 𐬄	𐬂 𐬃 𐬄 b
G	ג	𐬄		𐬄			𐬄 g
D	ד	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅 𐬆 𐬇	𐬅 𐬆 𐬇	𐬅 𐬆 𐬇	𐬅 𐬆 𐬇 d
h.e	ה	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈 𐬉	𐬈 𐬉 𐬊	𐬈 𐬉 𐬊	𐬈 𐬉 𐬊 h
U	ו	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋 𐬌	𐬋 𐬌 𐬍	𐬋 𐬌 𐬍	𐬋 𐬌 𐬍 u
Z	ז	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎 𐬏	𐬎 𐬏 𐬐	𐬎 𐬏 𐬐	𐬎 𐬏 𐬐 z
chX	ח	𐬑			𐬑		
T	ט	𐬒	𐬒 𐬓 𐬔	𐬒	𐬒 𐬓 𐬔	𐬒 𐬓 𐬔	𐬒 𐬓 𐬔 t
I	י	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕 med 1	𐬕	𐬕 i
K	כ	𐬖 𐬗	𐬖	𐬖 𐬗	𐬖 𐬗 𐬘	𐬖 𐬗 𐬘	𐬖 𐬗 𐬘 k
L	ל	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙 𐬚	𐬙 𐬚 𐬛	𐬙 𐬚 𐬛	𐬙 𐬚 𐬛 l
M	מ	𐬜 𐬝	𐬜	𐬜 𐬝 𐬞	𐬜 𐬝 𐬞	𐬜 𐬝 𐬞	𐬜 𐬝 𐬞 m
N	נ	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟 𐬠	𐬟 𐬠 𐬡	𐬟 𐬠 𐬡	𐬟 𐬠 𐬡 n
S	ס	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣 s
aE	ע	𐬥		𐬥	𐬥 𐬦 𐬧	𐬥 𐬦 𐬧	𐬥 a
pφ	פ	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨 𐬩 𐬪	𐬨 𐬩 𐬪	𐬨 𐬩 𐬪	𐬨 p
ts	צ		𐬫	𐬫			𐬫 ts
q x	ק						
R	ר	𐬬	𐬬	𐬬 𐬭	𐬬 𐬭 𐬮	𐬬 𐬭 𐬮	𐬬 r
sh	ש	𐬯	𐬯	𐬯 𐬰			𐬯 sh
θ	ת	𐬱					
	מלכא	𐬲 𐬳 𐬴	𐬲	𐬲 𐬳 𐬴	𐬲 𐬳 𐬴	𐬲 𐬳 𐬴	𐬲 𐬳 𐬴



[illegible]

16	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ	17	ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ	18	ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ	19	ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΤ
	ק ר ר ט		ר צ ר ר צ		ר ר ר		ק ר ח ח ר
	פ ר צ ט		ר צ ר ר צ		ר ר ר		ק ר ר ח ח
	פ ר צ ט		ר צ ר ר צ		ר ר ר		
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΝ	ר צ ר ר צ		ר ר ר		ר ר ר	20	ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΤ
ק ר ר ט	ר צ ר ר צ		ר ר ר		ר ר ר		ק ר ר ח ח

21	ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ P P 3 1 1 7	26	ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ P P 7 7 7 7	28	ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ P 3 7 5
22	ΑΝΤΙΛΑΚΙΔΟΥ P P 7 7 7 7 7	27	ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ P Λ Ο Ω 7		P 3 3 5 P 3 3 5
23	ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ P 5 5 7 7	30	ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ P 3 7 7 7	29	ΛΥΣΙΟΥ P 7 7 7
24	ΑΖΟΥ P Λ 7	32	ΣΥΛΛΟ... (ΚΑΔΦΙC). 3 P 5 P 7 7 7 7	31	ΝΩΝΟΥ P P 7 7 7
25	ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ P 7 7 7			33	ΥΝΑΔΦΕΡΡΟΝ P P 3 3 P 5 7 7 7

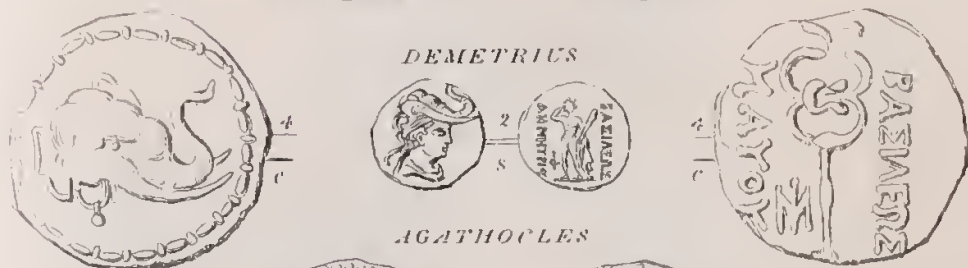




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DEMETRIUS



AGATHOCLES



EUCRATIDES.





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**MENANDER**



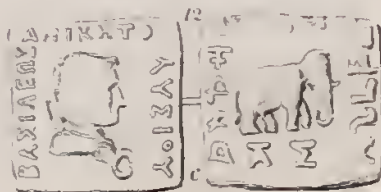
**APOLLODOTUS**



**ANTILAKIDES**



**LYSIS**



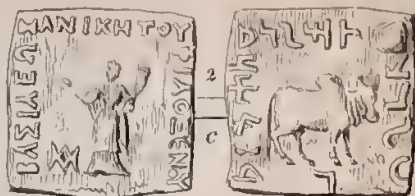




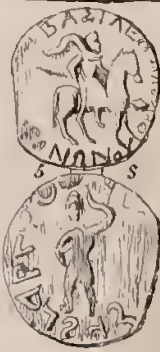
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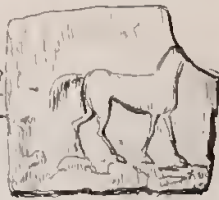
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ERMÆUS.



*UNADPHERRUS?*



*EOS KADPHICES or ERMÆUS?*













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